1: Jenness--15-17 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 103, 133, 221

"The Eskimos have names not only for different divisions of the country, but also for certain subdivisions of them, and most of the creeks and many of the more important lakes, headlands, and islands have also their distinctive appellations. The most westerly district that is still inhabited is the country known generally as Akulliakattak, which extends along the coast from about Stapylton bay to Cockburn point and for an indefinite distance behind. The more correct designation for this area is Akunnik, for Akulliakattak is really only the name for Hope point and for a fair-sized lake behind it, ten miles long perhaps and four miles wide, which is the rendezvous of the Eskimos who have hunted and fished in the interior during the spring and summer. At this lake they sew their new deerskin clothes in the autumn, and make their preparations for going out on the ice of the strait and beginning the winter's sealing. Leaving Lake Akulliakattak, they migrate down the stream Siorak into South bay. Often they stop a day or two at Cape Bexley to make their final preparations before crossing the strait, whence this cape has received the name of Ineksarvik, the 'Place where everything is finished.' One derivation for the word Akulliakattak gives it the meaning of 'Short portage', which would refer to an overland route from Stapylton or South bay to the head of the Rae river, a route the Eskimos often take in preference to the long journey

round the coast. (2) Mr. J.R. Cox, one of our topographers, made this portage in the course of his surveys, and the brief description he has given of the country will be found a little farther on. The Eskimos say that it abounds in fish, and that caribou are fairly numer-[16]ous in spring and summer, though not to the same extent as farther east. In many places near the coast we found the remains of Eskimo caches, and stones set up for deer-drives. Cockburn point is called Aiyeyak, and the two small islands off it Piyumaleksiakuk.

East of Akulliakattak or Akunnik is Noahognik, a district which includes all that broad triangular peninsula that has its apex at Locker point. Here the country is more irregular, with the ridges higher and the lakes more numerous. Fish are very abundant, and many caribou pass through on their annual migration to and from Victoria island. Bernard harbour is an excellent wintering place for small schooners, but the Eskimos have no name for it, though the small bay next to it, on its eastern side, is called Ugyuksiorvik. Off the entrance to the harbour lies Chantry island Kikiktaryuak,

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"2. Erdmann (Eskimoiches Worterbuch), gives the meaning in Labrador as 'ein Mittelland,' i.e., the and between two bays or gulfs."

the 'Big island,' so named because it is much larger than the tiny islets and reefs that fringe the coast. In 1914 some of the local Eskimos passed the interval between the summer's hunting and the winter's sealing on its northern extremity, for food was scarce, and the men could hunt for seals in the broken ice off the point while the women stayed at home and sewed their winter garments. Other natives gathered at the mouth of a small creek, Nulahugyuk, four miles east of Bernard harbour, which issues out of a large lake named Hingittok or Hingiktok, a few miles inland. In spring large numbers of salmon migrate up this stream to the lake and at the same time, or usually perhaps a little later, there is a seaward migration of the young salmon out of the lake itself. In 1916 the migration up-stream began in May. Towards the end of June it ceased, and nearly all the Eskimos who had gathered there to fish went inland. But a few days later the young fish, probably two seasons old, began to come down, and at the same time there was a renewal of the upstream migration of the larger salmon. Only one family of Eskimos had remained behind, and they reaped all the benefit. Generally three or four schools, each numbering from six to thirty-six fish, would enter the stream within the twenty-four hours. [17]

About eight miles east of Nulahugyuk creek there is another named Kogluktuaryuk. Here too the salmon migrate in large numbers, and bearded seals haunt the adjacent waters. North of Cape Lambert, whose dolomite cliffs rise to a height of eighty feet,

are the Lambert islands, a favourite sealing-ground of some of the local Eskimos in early spring. Lakes and ponds are very numerous in the country behind this cape. One of the largest is Lake Kogluktuaryuk, the source of the creek of the same name; its diameter is about a mile and a half, and it lies a few miles south-west of Cape Lambert. The Eskimos often come here to fish; in the spring of 1916 we saw the remains of a camp on the shore of the lake and three of their caches on the coast just north of it. Willow is scarce here, but heather abundant, so that the natives had no lack of fuel; besides heather they seemed to have used also a few sticks of driftwood which they had carried in from the coast.

In the same spring a band of natives was fishing on another fair-sized creek that flows into Paisley cove. It is called Noahognik, and, like the others, issues from one of the many lakes two or three miles inland. Cape Krusenstern is Nuvuk, the 'Point', and Mount Barrow, in the peninsula behind it, Uvaiyu. The low narrow isthmus just north of Mount Barrow is a favourite portage of the Eskimos, as it enables them to avoid the longer route and the rough ice that always gathers round Cape Krusenstern. Another longer portage is often made here, especially by natives coming from the south; they begin from the bay just west of Locker point (Tikirak), on the left side of the high bluff Kikigarnak, which lies directly behind the point; then, crossing a chain of small

lakes and skirting a low hill named Imneligaryuk, they issue into the deep bay between Cape Krusenstern and Paisley cove. The small bay at the east end of the shorter portage is a well-known place for tom-cod, and the coast in the vicinity is an excellent hunting-ground for both the rough seal (Phoca hispida) and the bearded seal (Erignathus barbatus), which are the mainstay of the Eskimos during the winter."

1: Jenness--20 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 313, 221

"'Wood for various purposes seems to be obtained most largely from the vicinity of 'Big Stick island.' (1) This place, about thirty-five miles east of Great Bear lake on the southeast branch of the Dease river, is an area of several hundred acres of excellent timber. It is surrounded by the Barren lands, and is recognized as a good hunting ground both by the Eskimos and by the Indians of Great Bear lake. It is here, when the Indians are hunting, after their return from the summer trips to the trading posts, that the meeting between the two peoples takes place.'"

"1. Cf. Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, pp. 82-3; My Life with the Eskimo, p. 222."

1: Jenness--20-21 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Mr. D'Arcy Arden, a well-known traveller in the north, who has made his headquarters at the east end of Great Bear lake since 1914, tells me that in 1914 the Eskimos were wandering all through the country south of the east end of the lake as far as Cape McDonnel (which is locally known as Caribou point). From there directly east to the Coppermine, old tent rings and other signs of their camps were numerous.

It would seem that 'Big Stick island' and the country immediately east of Great Bear lake are the main objective points of the Coppermine river Eskimos in their inland excursions in the summer. There it is that they get the wood for various purposes and there it is that they meet and trade with the Indians. If any person were to look for the Eskimos at 'Big Stick island' [21] or elsewhere, it must be remembered that the camps will not be found immediately on the Dease or in the valley, but somewhere on or among the surrounding hills. Old camp sites are very numerous on the north side of Dismal lake, particularly at the 'Narrows', and it is there where both fish and caribou are numerous that they get the supply of fall skins for clothing. They here get caribou both by hunting on land and by spearing from kayaks as the caribou are swimming. Aside from these two main or more permanent gathering places, the country and the camp sites indicate that the Eskimos are wandering around in small parties.

Except that they go west and south from ten to twenty miles up the Coppermine, nothing is known of the country where those Eskimos who go after copper get their supply

1: Jenness--101-102 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 262, 221

"Whether fish or caribou predominate in their summer diet depends entirely on the resources of the particular region in which they live. (2) Thus in 1915, in southwest Victoria island, sealing was definitely abandoned at the end of April. In May, when the main body of the caribou was migrating north across Dolphin and Union strait, the Eskimos ate more caribou-meat than fish, especially those parts of the animal that are less suitable for drying, such as the head, the chine, the shoulders and the thighs. In June caribou were less plentiful, so during that and the following month the people lived mainly on fish, moving about [102] from one group of lakes to another and incidentally hunting any caribou that they might happen to encounter. By the end of July even the

"2. The introduction of rifles has naturally increased the possibilities of hunting and made caribou correspondingly more important. Fish-nets are slowing[sic] coming into vogue, but as long as the caribou remain numerous the Eskimos will always spend more time in hunting than in fishing, because the caribou furnish not only food, but skins for clothing and for tents, sinew for sewing and for small lashings, and bone and horn that can be worked up into implements of various kinds."

larger lakes were becoming free of ice, and jigging with hook and line or spearing with the long trident was no longer possible; besides it was necessary to obtain a supply of short-haired summer skins for clothing. So the Eskimos began their summer packing, scouring the land day after day, securing a caribou here one day, two or three there the next, then no more perhaps for several days. When their supplies ran low they would sometimes rock the stones on the edges of the lakes and spear the small fish that darted out, eating them raw; or they would draw on the little stock of dried meat or back-fat that they carried for just such an emergency. In the latter half of September the caribou began to straggle back to the coast, and wait for the sea to freeze over so that they could migrate south again. Those Eskimos who had rifles remained near the coast to intercept them, the others, after a few days, went inland again to the lakes to fish, trusting to buy later, from their more fortunate countrymen, the autumn skins that they required for clothing, paying for them with fish. The main body of the caribou had passed by the middle of October, although for several weeks after an occasional herd of stragglers still drifted by. Satisfied with the game they had already killed, three families now decided to return to the hills and obtain a few fish which they could keep frozen for consumption during the winter; but a fourth family, indifferent to the attractions of fish, remained on the coast. Throughout November all these natives were living on the stores that they had laid by during the preceding months; indeed it was not until well on

in December that sufficient seals were caught to produce any noticeable change in their diet.

In the valley of the Coppermine river and behind Bathurst inlet caribou are even more numerous than in Victoria island. In other districts, again, they are comparatively scarce, and the Eskimos depend far more on fish. Thus very few caribou remain in Noahognik, on the south side of Dolphin and Union strait, during the summer months, after the spring migration is over. Natives who were spearing salmon here in June, 1916, went down to the Rae river in July for their hunting. For some distance east of the Coppermine river, too, most of the caribou disappear in the height of summer; it is only in the migrating seasons, in early spring and in autumn, that they are plentiful. Fish, on the other hand, are very abundant, and in certain areas squirrels; the fur of the latter is almost as valuable to the Eskimos as its meat."

1; Jenness--104 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Life varies somewhat with the different economic conditions; while one band of Eskimos is hunting caribou or musk-oxen, another, fifty or a hundred miles away, may be snaring squirrels, or gaffing salmon in the rivers, while still a third is jigging for trout and salmon through the ice of the lakes. Thus at the end of May, 1916, there was a settlement of natives on a small island off the mouth of the Coppermine river, another at Cape Franklin on Victoria island, and a third at Bernard harbour. In the first the natives were hunting caribou, in the second they were both sealing and hunting caribou, in the third they were hunting caribou and fishing inland in one of the lakes. The presence of several traders and of a Hudson's Bay Company's post in the country since 1916, together with the introduction of rifles, has already caused a considerable modification in the seasonal movements of the Copper Eskimos, with the exception of those round Prince Albert sound, and the natives east of Kent peninsula."

1: Jenness--110 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"There is a transition period each year in the lives of the Eskimos when they cease from their quest of food on land and yet are not prepared to begin the winter's sealing on the ice. Its length varies from about a fortnight to a month, and corresponds roughly with our month of November. The sea ice is still thin, and though it is possible to cross between Victoria island and the mainland, it is unwise to camp on it in most places. This is not an idle period for the Eskimos, however. During the dark days when the sun is absent no new deerskins may be sewn, so the women are now fully occupied in making all the clothes that will be required by their families during the next five or six months. The men, in the meantime, bring in their caches of deermeat, and dried or frozen fish, and the pokes of blubber that have been secreted in stone cairns on the coast since spring. They repair too their sealing implements, or make new ones, and scrape most of the skins that the women intend to use. Leisure hours are occupied in trapping foxes, or fishing in adjoining lakes."

1: Jenness--110-111 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 221

"All through the summer the families that compose each separate group or tribe have been scattered over various fishing and hunting grounds in the interior; but now [AW: in November] they assemble once again at some well-known meeting place on or near the coast. The Akulliakattak natives gather at Lake Akulliakattak, the Noahognirmiut at Chantry island or at the fishing creek four miles east of Bernard harbour, the Coppermine river natives on an island off the mouth of the nearer Kugaryuak river, the Pingangnaktomiut on Hepburn island, and the Kilusiktomiut on one of the Barry islands in Bathurst inlet called Igloryuallik. The Puivlik natives have several places where they may assemble in the autumn. At the beginning of December, 1914, they had a large settlement a short distance from the mouth of the Kimiryuak river. There they were joined by two Noahognik families, who, through lack of food, had crossed the strait and foisted themselves for the time being on their more prosperous neighbours. There were then nine double houses in the settlement, but no dance-house, because the season for visiting was still far off and the men were sufficiently occupied in carrying out their various tasks. Accordingly, the dance they gave in honour [111] of my arrival was held in the portico or domed interspace of one of the larger double huts. The natives remained about a month at this settlement; by that time their clothing was practically

all finished, the ice in the strait was growing more and more solid every day, and everything was ready for their winter sealing. On December 11 about half the people moved down to a sandspit on the coast some four miles away. The remainder, who still had a little more work to finish, postponed moving till the following day, the women staying up most of the night to complete their sewing. I accompanied the later party, with my host and hostess, Haviuyak and Itokanna. We rose about 4 a. m. and breakfasted immediately on frozen deermeat; for the Eskimos having no watches, could not tell in the foggy condition of the atmosphere how long it would be before daylight. We waited idly an hour and a half, then Haviuyak iced the runners of his sled and began to load up, removing the ice window out of his hut and receiving the household goods from his wife through the opening. We started at 9.45 a. m., Itokanna pulling in front of the dogs as usual, and Haviuyak behind, while his father Haviron, who had been ailing for some time, was carried on top of the sled. On reaching the new settlement Haviuyak immediately set about building a hut for himself and his family beside the huts that were already erected."

"This migration marked the real opening of the winter life, for they began their sealing the very next day, although several more days elapsed before they had any success. It was forbidden to cook caribou and fish again until the spring, when the natives would return to the land, and the sewing of new deer-skins was tabooed until the sun shouldreappear about the middle of January. A week later the whole settlement moved to a new sealing ground about ten miles south by east. Here too they remained a week only, then crossed to Putulik, one of the Liston and Sutton islands, where they amalgamated with the three Noahognik families that had crossed over from Chantry island.

In the autumn of 1915 the five Puivlik families with whom I spent the spring and summer in south-west Victoria island assembled at Okauyarvik, while others gathered near the Kimiryuak river; all of them crossed over to Bernard harbour at the end of November, or early in December, before commencing the winter sealing. Thither too flocked the Noahognik Eskimos, and others who had spent the summer round the Rae river. Some came from farther east, from the Coppermine and even from the Tree river. Such a commingling of the tribes at this season was due, of course, to the presence of the expedition and the facilities it offered for trade. Normally the different groups remain in their various assembling-places until it is time to move out on the ice and begin the sealing. They live during this transition period on the dried fish and car-

ibou meat they have stored away in the summer, and the frozen meat and fish kept from the fall. Should the winter prove stormy they may have to fall back on these again later on, so they wisely begin their sealing before all their stores are exhausted."

1: Jenness--111-112 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Amundsen says of the Netsilik Eskimos that they 'are not altogether without forethought for the future. Their stock of meat and fish will last over Christmas and a little way into the new year. According to their law, seal-catching must not commence before the middle of January, and even then it is carried on only on a small scale for some time, as the seals, which have very sharp ears, can hear the hunter's steps a long way off, while the layer of snow on the ground is thin, and consequently they can keep out of his way. Therefore, from the middle of January up to some time in February is their period of greatest privation.' (1) The Copper Eskimos begin sealing early in December, as soon as the sun has disappeared; they would begin earlier still but for the necessity they are under of sewing new clothes, and the danger of living and hunting over [112] thin ice which may be broken up at any time by a sudden storm. While the ice is still forming, indeed, they sometimes shoot bearded seals (with rifles now but formerly too with bows and arrows) as the animals bask on the surface of the ice

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"1. Amundsen, Vol. II p. 22 et seq."

off the mouths of streams and rivers. (1) For the Copper Eskimos too the period of greatest privation is from the middle of January till about the middle of March, because it is then that the coldest and stormiest weather usually prevails and they have least success in their sealing."

"1. Early in October, 1915, when we were camped not far from the mouth of the Okauyarvik creek, Ikpakhuak shot one rough and three bearded seals on the surface of the ice. He had to stalk them on his hands and knees, and in so doing froze both his wrists so that they were black for days afterwards; but her merely laughed over his misfortune and considered it rather a joke. In the spring of the same year an Eskimo hunter in Coronation gulf stalked a large bearded seal on the ice and launched an arrow at it that missed by a hand's breadth only."

I: Jenness--115-116 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 512, 221

"With the reappearance of the sun and the dawning of longer days the monotony of this life undergoes a change. Hitherto dances and shamanistic performances, with a little wrestling and gymnastics, have been their only diversions in the evenings and on days when terrific blizzards make sealing impossible. Undoubtedly these afford much enjoyment, and relieve to some extent the tedium [116] of their sedentary existence; but still the nights are long and weary and half their life is spent in bed. Longer days mean travel, migrations to new sealing grounds and visits from friends in other communities. It is then, about February or the early part of March, that the Akulliakattangmiut combine with the Puivlirmiut and Noahognirmiut, and the Coppermine river natives come north to the neighbourhood of Locker point, whence some continue west and visit the Dolphin and Union strait Eskimos. Farther east the Pingangnaktok and Kilusiktok natives meet, and some of the Ekaluktomiut and Asiagmiut often visit them. Dances are held almost nightly in honour of both visitors and hosts, and a brisk barter is carried on. Both at this time and later the groups rearrange themselves, some of the local group returning with the visitors to their sealing-grounds, while some of the new-comers in turn stay with the group they came to visit."

1: Jenness--116 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 484

"A migration of a whole community is a wonderful sight. In the autumn, when the Eskimos are moving out to their sealing-grounds, they have to start with their sleds before daylight in order to reach their destinations before dark. Time is everything at that season of the year, and often half the journey is made in twilight. In spring, on the other hand, there is no need for haste, for the air is mild and pleasant, and the daylight as long as the darkness has been in the winter. No definite hour is set for the migration, no definite day even, for in a land where the only calendars are the seasons one day is no better than the next. The natives are not accustomed therefore to plan all their movements beforehand, and to carry them out with the exactitude of clockwork. Conversation usually simmers on the subject for several days before a migration takes place, and nothing is decided; then one evening a man will suddenly announce to his wife that he intends to move next day. The rumor quickly spreads from house to house, and others announce their intention of accompanying him. Next morning everyone is on the alert. Someone enters a hut and announces that so-and-so is packing up. Everyone begins to do the same, and soon the settlement is a hive of industry. Breakfast is finished quickly, or even forgotten in the excitement. The man goes out, takes down his sled from its stand, and trims the mud runners with his knife; his wife, in the meantime, crushes some snow in the pot so that when he re-enters there will be water all ready to pour over the mud. He carries it out, fills his mouth with it, streams it along

the runners, and before it freezes quickly rubs it over with a pad of polar bear skin so as to leave a perfectly smooth coating of ice. (1) Finally the sled is ready; he turns it right side up, and lays on the bottom all the heavy bales that have been resting on the house wall. Then he cuts a great hole in the side of the house, or takes out the ice window behind the lamp, and calls to the inmates to pass out the things."

"1. Polar bear skin is preferred to any other kind because water does not adhere to the fur."

1: Jenness--119 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 512

"Spring with its mild, sunny weather brings longer and pleasanter hours for hunting. Seals, though not more plentiful perhaps, are more easily discovered, and the camp is filled with meat and blubber. To the women this season means more work. The winter, provided food and fuel were not wanting, was almost a holiday time, but now each family requires spring boots that will not spoil in the melting snow. Some of the sealskins must be scraped and dried, partly for footgear, partly to make up into bags for clothing, meat and blubber. Such skins are scattered all about the camp, some pegged to snow blocks, others to the walls of the houses, others again stretched over the sleds. There is a general spring cleaning. The clothes that are ranged in bags on the ramparts of the houses must all be unpacked, shaken out and aired in the sun. A sharp eye is kept on the weather for the least sign of drift, and after every gale or snowfall the bags are emptied again, the snow brushed out before it melts, and the clothes carefully repacked. The tent now supplants the snow hut, and in place of closing up chinks in the walls and scraping the window, the wife now beats off the encrusting frost and snow. Surplus blubber is no longer thrown away, but diligently packed in large sealskin pokes to be sorted away for the autumn. At the same time many of their fine winter clothes are packed away, since it will be impossible in summer to carry them wherever they go. Migrations take place more frequently, and the men hunt nearer home, staying away eight or nine hours a day instead of four or five as in winter."

1: Jenness--119-120 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Now that rifles are growing more common many of the Eskimos abandon the ordinary method of sealing much earlier than in former years. Instead they wander along the coast to intercept the caribou as they migrate north, or to shoot the bearded seals that in certain well-known places, especially off the [120] mouths of creeks and rivers, crawl out on top of the ice to bask in the sunshine. Occasionally a native, having no rifle, will stalk the smaller rough seal as it lies beside its hole, and when there are no more ice-cakes to cover his approach, he will dash forward and try to harpoon it before it dives. Long before the snow has melted from the ice, however, (before the middle of May in an ordinary season) the majority of the Eskimos have cached their blubber and clothes on the shore, or on islands near the coast, and gone inland to fish and hunt."

1: Jenness--120 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 361

"A chronological record of the movements of the Dolphin and Union strait Eskimos in the winter and spring of 1915-16 will illustrate this account of their winter life. From December, 1915, to February, 1916, they were all united in one settlement of thirty-three snow huts, on the shore of Illuvillik, the most westerly island of the Liston and Sutton group. Some time during the first week of February they migrated in a body ten miles to the west and built new snow-huts on the ice. They remained here almost a month, then moved four or five miles south-southwest. Throughout March they were visited by large numbers of Coronation gulf natives, some from the Coppermine river basin and others from as far east as Bathurst inlet. On April 3, the settlement split up. One band of sixteen families made new homes ten miles farther west, four families migrated about the same distance north-northwest, and the remainder, save for two or three who left for Coronation gulf, moved eastward again and camped on the ice between the two eastern islands of the Liston and Sutton group, where they could seal in an area that had not been hunted over during the winter. The eleven families of this last settlement now set up nine tents to live in. The larger settlement to the west, on the other hand, consisted of snow huts only, the weather not being as yet so warm as to make these dwellings untenable. Their exact movements later I do not know, but by the end of April the members of the larger settlement had all moved away, some to Okauyarvik on the north side of Dolphin and Union strait, where they were hunting

caribou, the rest to the mouth of a creek twelve miles east of Bernard harbour, where they were shooting bearded seals and trying to intercept the caribou. The natives who had camped between the two islands were slowly moving northeast at the same time towards the land, and by May had reached the shore not far from Clouston bay. In June there were nine families at the fishing creek four miles east of Bernard harbour, two at the other creek twelve miles east, and six at a creek that flows into a bay just west of Cape Krusenstern. The other natives who had wintered in Dolphin and Union strait were all lost to view in Victoria island, with the exception of those who had gone down into Coronation gulf."

1: Jenness--121 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 512

"The Eskimo, too, feels the quickening of nature [AW: in May] and bestirs himself to new activities. Tents and household goods are all overhauled, and new and lighter clothes brought out to meet the warmer weather. His outer boots are now of seal-skin, which will not spoil in the slushy snow; often, too, he wears a seal-skin coat. The season for sealing is now rapidly drawing to a close, and certain economic factors, varying from district to district, govern the movements of the natives as soon as it is over. One group will hasten shorewards and vanish immediately into the interior, while another will linger for several weeks along the coast."

I: Jenness--121 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"A great change comes over the Copper Eskimo world each year in the month of May. The sun circles constantly round in the sky, never setting below the horizon. During the warmer hours of noon the snow that covers both sea and land begins to glisten and melt, then in the cooler hours of the night it freezes again, offering a firm resistance to the traveller's sled. Already in a few exposed places the ground shows brown and bare, but the streams and lakes are still ice-bound, and the valleys filled with soft, deep snow. The birds are returning. Throughout the winter a few ravens haunt the Eskimo settlements, and here and there is found a solitary snowy owl or one or two ptarmigan. But now the snow-buntings appear, and ptarmigan that herald the caribou, soon to be followed by ducks and geese and a multitude of other birds, both large and small. The seals emerge from their holes and bask in the sunshine on the surface of the ice, while from far to the southward come countless herds of caribou streaming north to their summer pasture grounds."

1: Jenness--122-125 (1913-17) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"In southwest Victoria island, for some reason or other, there is no great run of salmon up the creeks and rivers during the early summer, and the best fishing lakes are inland in the Colville hills. Consequently, the Puivlirmiut who inhabit this region have no inducement to remain on the coast after the sealing has ended. Already, while still on the ice, they have split up into smaller bands; [123] each of these now travels inland by sled, carrying the lamps and a little blubber to furnish them with fuel until the snow has partly melted and they can gather the wretched okauyak. By slow stages, with many stop-overs at different places to fish, they finally reach some well-known lake, the centre of a fruitful fishing region. There they remain until early July, when the ground is growing bare of snow, and travelling by sled, or even with its substitute a polar bear skin, is no longer practicable. There, then, they cache their sleds and lamps, together with their heavy tents and all their surplus clothing. The band splits up, the families radiate, one going north perhaps to a lake to fish, two others east, two others again perhaps southwest. Thus they wander about in July from one lake to another, sometimes uniting for a few days to enjoy each other's company, then scattering again. Fishing is their main pursuit, and as long as the lakes are covered with ice they continue to accumulate trout and salmon, which they dry in the sun and store away in caches for consumption during the fall and early winter. Caribou are plentiful in June, but in July, when the migration has ended, the herds break up and the

deer are few and scattered. The Eskimos, as long as they had only bows and arrows, gave little attention to hunting them at this period, for their flesh is lean with long travelling, and their fur useless for clothing until they gain their summer coats, which is not until early in August.

In other regions, where the salmon migrate in numbers, the natives usually gather in July and spear them as they make their way up the streams. Sealing ends, as a rule, towards the close of May, when cracks develop in the ice and the seals no longer need to resort to the holes they have kept open all the winter. From this date, then, until the appearance of the salmon the natives linger near the creeks, and either fish for tom-cod through the sea-ice, or go inland a few miles to fish in the lakes, although a few hunters, having rifles now, remain on the shore and intercept the bands of caribou as they pass north. In July, as soon as the salmon begin to run, the natives gather at their salmon weirs, which are either at the mouths of the creeks or near their outlets from the lakes. Sometimes a whole tribe will reassemble at these fishing-weirs; more often the different families spread out over different creeks so that each may secure a greater individual toll. The three creeks where the Noahognirmiut spear salmon have been mentioned already. Farther east there are other well-known 'salmon-ponds'; the cascade about eighteen miles up the Raw river, below Bloody fall on the Coppermine, at the rapids near the mouth of the Tree river, and, in Victoria island, on

the creek that flows into Cambridge bay. (1) Hearne and Franklin both came across natives below Bloody fall. The former remarks that the salmon were 'so numerous that when a light pole armed with a few spikes, which was the instrument the old (Eskimo) woman used, was put under water and hauled up with a jerk, it was scarcely possible to miss them. Some of my Indians tried the method, for curiosity, with the old woman's staff, and seldom got less than two at a jerk, sometimes three or four.'(2)

By the end of July the salmon run is over, and the ice has melted from all except the very largest lakes. The caribou in the meantime have grown fat with peaceful grazing, and their skins are now in their prime. The Eskimos, leaving safely stored away in stone caches whatever fish they have caught, and packing their light tents and a few spare articles of clothing on their backs, wander off to hunt. Wherever the country is barren and reindeer moss scarce, the deer are scattered and far apart; then the Eskimos too must scatter out to cover as wide an area as possible. On both sides of Dolphin and Union strait, therefore, the traveller will find scattered families roaming about from place to place, here today and gone tomorrow in their restless search for game. Days[124]

"1. See Collinson, p. 279; Rae, Journ. Royal Geogr. Soc., Vol. 22, 1852."
"2. Hearne, p. 183."

of feasting alternate with days of fasting according to their failure or success. No fowl of the air, no creature of the land, no fish in the water is too great or too small to attract their notice at this time. They knock down ptarmigan and longspurs with stones or arrows, they shoot the ducks on their nests and carry off the eggs, they spear or catch with nooses the squirrels that burrow in the ground, and they spear or catch with their hands the tiny fish that hide under the stones on the margins of the lakes. With their bows and arrows they fearlessly attack brown bears and wolves, while polar bears they run down on foot with the help of their dogs and stab them with improvised pikes. In 1915, for example, an Eskimo named Komak spent the summer months in the country between Dolphin and Union strait and the Rae river. Two other families kept him company; sometimes the party separated out for a few days, then joined together again. They caught a great quantity of fish, some with spears, others by jagging with long rakes; in addition they killed a wolf and a brown bear, several caribou, and a large number of squirrels. The squirrels they caught with nooses, which were sometimes set to operate by themselves, sometimes operated by hand; but many, too, were killed with improvised spears, made by lashing points of caribou antler to walking-sticks.

Even in summer, however, the caribou wander in large herds occasionally in some

of the more fertile valleys and plains. The Eskimos congregate there also, and organize hunting expeditions in concert. If the natives have kayaks they drive the caribou into the lakes and spear them in the water (this is the commonest method inland between Bathurst inlet and the Coppermine); but if kayaks are lacking the deer are driven down a hastily improvised compound towards the hunters, who are concealed in pits in the narrow pass at the end. In such regions six or a dozen families may stay together all through the summer. More often, however, the Eskimos break up into smaller parties and move along a few miles apart, the approximate location of each party being known to all the rest. Then they can all unite again whenever an exceptionally large herd is encountered and concerted action promises greater booty.

Their hunting often takes them long distances. In recent years the presence of white men has caused the natives of Coronation gulf to gravitate more and more towards the north end of Great Bear lake. Even the Eskimos of Bathurst Inlet make their way overland to this region, along a chain of lakes where caribou and musk-oxen abound during the summer months. Rivers and large lakes are crossed in kayaks, which serve the natives also for their hunting. (1) Caribou have always been plentiful around Great

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"1. See Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 81."

Bear lake, but it is only within the last few years that this region has become the common hunting ground for natives from every part of Coronation gulf. Probably half a century ago the Pallirmiut kept as a rule to the Rae river basin, and the Bathurst inlet natives to the country north of Backs river and east of the Coppermine, while the natives of the Coppermine basin itself kept for the most part to the lower reaches of the river, and only ascended as far as the Dismal lakes when they wanted to procure timber for making their sleds and tables. Fear of the Indians kept them away, and hence the early explorers, Franklin, Richardson, Dease, and Simpson, saw no traces of them south of Bloody fall. As soon as white men settled on Great Bear lake however, the natives flocked thither from all directions, not only in mid-summer during the regular hunting period, when they packed their possessions on their backs, but even in the spring, as soon as the sealing season ended, while they could still travel inland by sled. The Eskimos who visited the Roman Catholic priests at Lake Rouvier in 1913 had travelled by sled from the mouth of the Coppermine in the late spring, and they returned in the same way in the fall. In June, 1916, again, a large party of natives from various tribes, anticipating [125] a profitable trade with some white men at Great Bear lake, congregated at the mouth of the Coppermine and travelled across by virtually the same route, accompanying Mr. K. G. Chipman and a police patrol.

Hunting carries some of the Kilusiktok natives in summer as far south as Backs river, even after they have spent the spring fishing for tom-cod round the Barry islands. As a rule, however, those who intend to spend the summer far inland leave the coast in spring and travel a large part of the journey by sled, as the Puivlirmiut do farther west. Little is known of the more northern natives. Apparently the salmon do not run in their country either, so there is nothing to keep them on the coast after the sealing is over. Their fishing and hunting grounds are some distance inland, hence they naturally make the journey by sled; such at least was the case with the two Prince Albert sound families that I met at Lake Tahiryuak in the summer of 1915. They had just finished their sealing, cached their blubber on the coast and travelled south by sled. The majority of their tribe, they told me, had gone northeast in the same manner to another lake named Tahiryuak, some thirty miles, perhaps, from the head of the sound.

The first snow-fall in September and the gradual freezing over of the lakes warns the wandering Eskimos that it is time to retrace their footsteps and return towards their caches. There they recover their heavy tents and warm clothing, and either fish again through the ice of the lakes or intercept the caribou as they migrate south. In October the reappearance of ptarmigan in numbers heralds the coming of the caribou, which gather along the south shores of Victoria island until the ice in the straits is solid

enough for them to cross. Small parties of Eskimos often wait near the coast for them, laying in a stock of willow twigs for fuel and building low sod walls round their summer tents. Others go back to the lakes where they have cached their sleds in the spring, hoping to encounter at least a few of the caribou in the hills. The natives on the mainland also gather in bands on the coast and intercept the deer as they come off the ice. Some families still live in their summer tents, burning driftwood or willow for fuel; others collect their caches and re-erect the same heavy tents that they had used in the spring, with the stone lamps burning blubber inside. There is no unanimity in their actions. Almost invariably, however, they all move into snow huts as soon as the snow is deep and firm enough, for a snow hut at this season of the year is far more confortable [sic] than a tent that is constantly covered with frost. Hunting and fishing absorb all their energies until November, by which time the caribou migration is usually over, and the Eskimos must redeem all their caches and prepare for the winter's sealing. Then the bands that are still inland come down to the coast and join their tribesmen at the assembling-place."

1: Jenness--143-144 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 181

"There is a theory, advanced by M. Mauss, that not only does the economic life of the Eskimos undergo a complete transformation from summer to winter, and from winter to summer, but that their social organization and religious life also are so profoundly modified as to be radically different at the two seasons. M. Mauss, for example, says, 'La vie sociale des Eskimos se présente donc à nous sous deux formes nettement opposables, et parallèles à leur double morphologie. Sans doute, entre l'une et l'autre, il y a des transitions: ce n'est pas toujours de façon abrupte que le groupe rentre dans ses quartiers d'hiver, ou en sort; de même ce n'est pas toujours d'une seule et unique famille qu'est composé le petit campement d'été. Mais il n'en reste pas moins d'une façon générale que les hommes ont deux manières de se grouper, et qu'à ces deux formes de groupement, correspondent deux systèmes juridiques, deux morales, deux sortes d'économie domestique et de vie religieuse. A une communauté réelle d'idées et d'intrerets dans l'agglomeration dense de l'hiver, a une forte unite mentale religieuse et morale, s'opposent un isolement, une poussière sociale, une extrême pauvreté morale et religieuse dans l'éparpillement de l'été..' (1)

"1. L'Année Sociologique, 9me Année, 1904-1905, p.124."

Now as far as the Copper Eskimos are concerned the brief sketch that has been given of their life during the two seasons suffices to disprove this theory. Changes in their environment, it is true, produce marked changes in their economic life. At one season they are dispersed into small bands that seek their sustenance on the land by hunting and fishing, at another they are assembled into large communities on the sea-ice and live by sealing. But their social organization and their religious life continue unchanged during both periods. They have different dwellings at the two seasons, tents in summer and snow huts in winter; but it is only because nature compels them to make the change; for, whether on land or on the sea, they prefer to live in snow huts whenever it is at all practicable. Given snow and ice and the possibility of procuring [144] seals in mid-summer, many of the natives would live at that season exactly as in winter; the skins they require for clothing they would obtain by trade with their neighbours. Contrarily, if trapping for foxes ever becomes profitable, and the natives are assured of fuel and food apart from seals, nothing in their social organization or their religious beliefs will prevent them from abandoning their winter life given over to sealing, exactly as their kinsmen have done in northern Alaska. The introduction of rifles, and the stimulus it has given to the hunting of caribou on land, has already shortened the period of sealing on the sea-ice. In fact there is really no fundamental change in their lives at the two seasons, but merely an external difference occasioned by, and directly

reflecting, the difference in their climatic and economic environment."

1: Jenness--246-248 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 166

"The inhospitable character of the region of Queen Maud's sea, and the discovery that the Ekaluktok river flows, not into Albert Edward bay, but into Wellington bay, throws a new light on Mr. Stefansson's trade route from Prince Albert sound to the Akilinnik river. We know that the Kanghiryuak natives go inland from Prince Albert sound about the beginning of June, and that the Ekaluktok natives must also be taking to the land at the same time. The Kanghiryuak natives whom I met in 1915 said that the two groups meet in the interior of the island near the head of a river, which must either be the Kagloryuak or some similar river flowing into Prince Albert sound, or else the [247] Ekaluktok river flowing southeast. This meeting can hardly take place, therefore, before the middle of June. Now at this season, in a normal year, the snow is fast leaving the ground, the rivers are breaking out, and the lakes are becoming surrounded with a margin of water. Travelling by sled, especially with an Eskimo sled shod with frozen mud, grows more and more difficult every day. It is very improbable then that the Kanghiryuak natives travel any farther by sled until the fall. Even if they did push down to the coast, as Mr. Stefansson supposed(1), and reach the mouth of the Ekaluktok river in Wellington bay, they would find the natives either

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"1. G.S.C., Museum Bulletin, No. 6, 1914, p. 6."

already inland, or else caching their stocks of blubber on the shore before going into the interior of the island to fish and hunt, not, under ordinary circumstances at least, preparing to cross the strait to the mainland. We must assume therefore that the Kanghiryuarmiut cache their sleds in the interior (as [redacted] Puivlirmiut did in the summer of 1915), spend the summer hunting and fishing in the neighbourhood, recover their sleds in the fall, and, travelling down to Wellington bay, become merged for the winter with the Ekaluktomiut on Dease strait. Theoretically, of course, they might cross over to the mainland as soon as the sea was frozen solidly over (in November), and either make their way west to Bathurst inlet, or east to the Ellice river or to Ogden bay; then during the dark days of winter they might push on south to the Akilinnik and return to the coast in the spring. Such a course might appeal to the European explorer, equipped with a light steel-shod sled and a high-powered hunting rifle, and anxious to make the journey as quickly as possible. But to the Eskimo time is of no value; his hunting weapon is the bow and arrow, and his cumbersome sled with its heavy mud shoeing is little adapted to inland travel over the soft snow of early winter. Moreover, owing to the scarcity of game and fuel along the Arctic coast at this season of the year, after the caribou have migrated south (very few seals are obtainable before the new year), the Copper Eskimo is compelled to lay in a stock of provisions to last him over Christmas at least, while for fuel he utilizes the blubber that he has cached on the

coast the previous spring. Hence a long journey at this season of the year, when the daylight does not last more than five hours, with a sled loaded down with provisions and blubber, is not practicable. The Bathurst inlet natives who travel to the Akilinnik in the fall of the year and return to the coast in the spring take their sleds and stocks of blubber with them inland the previous spring, and have their journey half completed before the summer overtakes them. It is not unlikely indeed that they reach the Akilinnik, or one of its tributaries in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen lake, before Christmas, perhaps even before the dark days set in, when travelling, with its concomitant fishing and hunting, becomes more difficult.

We must suppose, therefore, that the migrating Kanghiryuarmiut remain with the Ekaluktomiut during the early winter. They could lay in a store of dried and frozen meat and fish during the summer and fall, but for blubber they would have to rely on the supplies that were cached by the Ekaluktomiut during the spring. This factor alone would be sufficient to limit the number of migrating natives to two or three families. Towards spring, when the Ekaluktomiut visit their western neighbours, the usual reshuffling of groups would occur, and some Kanghiryuak and Ekaluktok natives might join the Bathurst inlet people and travel southward. Again they would cache their sleds inland when the snow melted, and either pack across to the Akilinnik in the summer, returning with the first snows, or else make the journey by sled in the early

winter and return the following spring. They could then rejoin the Ekaluktomiut before the latter abandoned their sealing on the ice, travel with them up the Ekaluktok river in the late spring, and join their countrymen from Prince Albert sound in the interior of Victoria island about the middle or end of June, exactly two years after they had left them. [248]

It will be noticed that I have stressed the route by way of Bathurst inlet. The accounts of the Bathurst inlet natives themselves, and the information obtained by Captain Bernard, indicate that the Eskimos of southeast Victoria island maintain closer contact with their neighbours to the west than with any of the tribes to the east of them. This is indeed what we should expect from their geographical position, and from the greater resources and population of the region west of Kent peninsula. Kent peninsula itself, as far as we know, was uninhabited until the last year or two, the Asiagmiut who visited the Bathurst inlet people travelling behind it by way of Melville sound."

2: Stefansson--21 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133, 221

"The popular summer hunting district which lies between Bear Lake and the Coppermine River north of the parallel of 66° is largely Barren Ground on account of its high and rocky character, although trees of good size are found in all the creek beds round about. East of the Coppermine too, so far as we know it, the land is high and rocky and devoid of trees for the same reason."

2: Stefansson--25 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 221

"Formerly the people whom we call Baillie Islanders had a permanent village on one of the Baillie Islands which they called Avvak. Since the whaling ships began to come in and winter in this vicinity, the dwelling site was removed to a sandspit on the mainland of Cape Bathurst, called Utkalluk. In the autumn both the people of Cape Bathurst east of Liverpool Bay, Nuvorak, and other places west of it, used to go to the head of the Bay in the fall for the caribou hunt and used to spend the early part of the winter there fishing; but apparently the entire population moved out to one of the promontories for sealing purposes about the middle of winter. East of the Baillie Islands were several villages between that and Langton Bay, which was known as Nuvuayuk from the sandspit on which the village was located, and behind which whaling ships have wintered in recent years."

2: Stefansson--26 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 101

"The Akuliakattagmiut are to be found usually in the late autumn and early winter encamped on the shore of Cape Bexley. This is a trading rendezvous where there come to visit them most or all of the Haneragmiut, a considerable number of the Puiplirmiut and the Noahonirmiut and a sprinkling from other tribes as far removed as the Ekalluktogmiut of the east coast of Victoria Island. Shortly before or after the winter solstice the Akuliakattagmiut move out on the ice of Dolphin and Union Strait for sealing purposes and about the same time the visitors begin to return, each party to its own tribe. Between the tenth and the last of May they will move ashore near Cape Bexley where they cache their stores or seal blubber as well as their spare clothing and household gear, and move inland two or three days' journey south to Akuliakattak Lake, which is said to be the head of Rae River."

2: Stefansson--28-29 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 221

"We have given roughly the summer location of all the mainland coastal tribes so far as it is known to us, but one district is peculiar in that it is occupied by representatives of a dozen or more tribes. This is the summer hunting district enclosed by a quadrangle formed by the Coppermine River [29] on the east, Great Bear Lake on the south, Dease River on the west, and Dismal Lake and Kendall River on the north. Among two hundred or so people who visited this district and with whom we hunted the summer of 1910, there were representatives of all the mainland tribes from Cape Bexley to the Kent Peninsula as well as the Puiplirmiut and Nagyuktogmiut of Victoria Island."

2: Stefansson--30 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 161, 221

"Late in March or early in April in each year....[JMR: i.e., the Kanhiryuarmiut] commence their eastward migrations crossing the straits to Prince Albert Sound and moving east along the middle of the Sound. We found them to be approximately in the geographical center of the Sound on May 13, 1911, and it is probable that their migrations pass this point at the same time each year. In Prince Albert Sound the parties divide. In the summer of 1911, none of them were going south into the Colville Mountains, although certain years a few of them are in the habit of going there to meet the Hanerag-miut. Six or seven families were going north into the mountains between Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet; a larger party still, were going southeast from the foot of the Sound to meet the Puiplirmiut and another good-sized party were going northeast from the foot of the Sound, location about forty miles inland, where native copper is most abundant and can most easily be had for the manufacture of knives, missile points, needles, and other articles. But the largest party of all, were going east up the Kag-loryuak River to meet the Ekalluktogmiut near the center of Victoria Island. The popu-lation of this group is two hundred or a little over. When they were all together in the spring of 1910 they occupied thirty-three dwellings, as we learned from the examination of one of their deserted villages. When we visited them, six families had already sep-arated themselves from the main body."

2: Stefansson--39 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 136, 221

"At present no people occupy Banks Island in summer although it is known to be fairly well stocked with both musk-oxen and caribou. The caribou, however, are not in such vast numbers here as in Victoria Island, which is filled by the migrations coming from the mainland in the spring although there are few if any caribou there in winter. Banks Island, however, has caribou the year around, for they do not seem to migrate across Prince of Wales Strait to any extent."

2: Stefansson--39-40 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 101

"Because the Kanghiryuatjiagmiut winter with the Kahiryuarmiut annually and families of either tribe may join the other at any time, we can consider that the range of these [40] two tribes is practically the same, although the more northerly tribe has for its particular hunting ground the country north and east of Minto Inlet."

2: Stefansson--54 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"All tribes of the Copper Eskimo in April and May have their camps on ice across which the caribou migrate in thousands on their way north. None of these make any use of their opportunities so far as we could learn. Especially the Noahomiramiut near Lambert Island and the Kanhiryuarmiut on Prince Albert Sound see endless successions of small bands passing their very doors. As mentioned above, there seems no taboo on caribou killing or caribou meat at this season, but we were merely told 'nobody ever hunts caribou on the ice'---they live in abundance of sealmeat at this time and blubber gathering is their most important object. It would really be foolish for them to spend their time pursuing the skinny migrating cows, if they did they would have to face the winter without the store of blubber that is their salvation at the time of autumn scarcity."

2: Stefansson--55 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"On May 7th, 1911, the first three families of the Puiplirmiut moved inland into Victoria Island from Simpson Bay. They expected to camp by some fishing lakes and to live mainly on fish till the ground should be bare of snow some three or four weeks later. They no doubt tried for caribou too; at any rate we found on May 24, 1910, that some Noahonirmiut had already begun deer hunting about fifteen miles southwest of Lambert Island. By May twenty-sixth, however, they had not themselves secured any caribou as yet, and had no food when we left them but the carcasses of two bucks that we shot just before leaving their neighborhood. The women of the party fished every day for small lake trout with their copper fish hooks and caught about half enough to feed the party. The Kanhiryuarmiut whom on May 19, 1911, we left still encamped on the ice in the middle of Prince Albert Sound expected to move inland in about two weeks and to live partly on fish when they got inland."

2: Stefansson--55 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Most people move inland while there is still snow on the ground; a few remain on the coast till the thaws are well under way, and some even stay on or near the coast all summer; notably certain of the Puiplirmiut in Simpson Bay, most of the Pallirmiut at the mouth of Rae River and some of the Kogluktogmiut at Bloody Fall on the Coppermine. Nothing is rigid about these arrangements;--the summer 1910, for instance, Bloody Fall was unoccupied."

2: Stefansson--56 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"In summer caribou are the chief source of food, although in certain districts fish, birds, and eggs, barren ground bears, and musk-oxen, play a more or less important part. Fishing is of most significance in early spring. When the first seals appear on top of the ice, about May fifteenth or May twentieth at Cape Bexley, the supply of blubber, the winter clothing, oil lamps, etc., are put in safe caches under heavy stones, usually on small islands, and the people move inland by sled, taking along a little seal oil (not nearly enough for all summer) and little other food. Individuals of some groups, such as the Pallirmiut, sometimes go inland only after the snow leaves the land, carrying packs instead of using sleds. A few people stay near the sea all summer, especially at the mouth of the Coppermine. Generally, the objective point with those who move inland early is a fishing lake that is also frequented by caribou and while the men hunt the women fish with hooks. As the hooks are not barbed they are seldom 'set'. Later, when the water courses become free of ice, fish are often speared at certain well-known spearing places. These spears are of the three-pronged Eskimo type with handles sometimes twenty feet long or longer. The barbs of these are usually of copper, though they may be of iron, bone, or antler.... Perhaps the most frequented spearing place is at Bloody Fall on the Coppermine. No fish nets or fish traps are used or known."

2: Stefansson--56 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

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116, 221

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2: Stefansson--57 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Many spe[illegible]ng places have of late been abandoned. One of the favorite ones up to a few years ago was Dismal Lake, at the Narrows (Cf. Hanbury's Account). This was last occupied by a single family the summer of 1909 but they got no deer and nearly starved. The summer of 1910 half a dozen families spent a part of the summer on Imaernirk Lake but were finally starved out. The Kogluktogmiut, perhaps the best caribou hunters as a group, carried no kayaks inland the summer of 1910, though they use them for crossing the river those summers when they fish at Bloody Fall instead of going to the Bear Lake hunt.

The method of waylaying and spearing caribou is the same as elsewhere described by Eskimo and need not be here described."

2: Stefansson--65 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 342, 221

"When the warm weather of spring comes upon a snowhouse village that is already built, the roofs will cave in while the walls remain intact. A few sticks are then put up for support and skins spread over. Only caribou skins are used, although sealskins, bearskins, and musk-ox skins are commonly used in emergencies."

2: Stefansson--67-68 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 488, 221

"In Coronation Gulf there are certain small islands upon which all sorts of household belongings can be safely left for the summer and everywhere the greater part of the property of a family is left behind in early spring, although [68] the cache may be nothing safer than a heap of stones which a polar bear might easily break into. Polar bears, however, are exceedingly rare, and thus the danger is really not very grave."

2: Stefansson--70 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 361

"Campsites are chosen with more care in summer than in winter. In the fall the Kogluktogmiut, they told us, are kept from moving out on the ice to the best sealing grounds by the lack of suitable snow for house-building everywhere except near shore. Why the Akuliakattagmiut remain near shore at Cape Bexley through the fall, till about the disappearing of the sun, we did not learn, but the reason is most likely the same. After midwinter, however, a village can be built wherever the ice is a little rough and has gathered snowdrifts of sufficient depth for house blocks and that is in several places every square mile of even the levelest ice the Straits can show. Of course, villages are seldom found in winter except in good sealing localities. What is a good site for a sealing village one year may not, however, be equally good the next for the seals, though more dependable than caribou, frequent certain localities more one year than another, the fluctuation depending probably largely on the season at which the ice forms in the fall and on the conditions of calm or storm under which it forms and its consequent roughness.

The summer of 1910 we saw several hundred sites of summer camps, two dozen or so of which were occupied when we saw them. The location is always marked by the stone tent rings (the stones that have been used to hold down the tent flaps) and usually by numerous other works of man, shavings of wood, bones and horns of animals, flat stones raised on edge for fireplaces, drying frames for meat, or for windbreaks, etc.

Over ninety percent of these are situated on hill tops that give a commanding view of the surrounding country. The reasons for choosing such hill tops were given as follows: 1) Fear of Indian attack; 2) Desire of a good view of the caribou feeding grounds; 3) The advantage of a wind-swept hill in mitigating the plague of mosquitoes and sandflies. Those that hunt toward Bear Lake told us the nearer they camped to the lake the more carefully they chose their campsites for 'you never know when or from where the Indians may come.' "

2: Stefansson--78 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 484, 221

"In winter there is little long distance travel by large parties, the individuals and groups of two or three families often make long journeys for trading purposes, to pay visits, or to return to their own people after summer wanderings to distant hunting grounds. Such travel as there is, is by sled exclusively."

2: Stefansson--80-81 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 484

"When bound for the caribou hunting grounds and fisheries in the spring most families start inland by sleigh, though some are delayed on the coast by [81] this or that circumstance till the thaws have made sledding impossible. Those usually spend the summer not far inland, though we have seen within ten miles of Bear Lake men who had packed their camps on their backs from the mouth of Rae River or Coronation Gulf. A large kill of caribou near the coast may delay any party till the thaw overtakes them, but commonly they penetrate seventy-five or one hundred miles inland before the disappearance of snow (about the first week in June for the Coppermine district) compels the abandoning of sleds."

2: Stefansson--81 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 482, 221

"When moving camp in summer the woman carries the stone cooking pot wrapped in bed skins, for the pot is very fragile. She also carries, if there be any, pups that are too small to walk and usually she carries the tent besides. If he has a kayak, the man carries this, his bow, arrows, all his tools, fragments of copper for making arrowheads to replace those lost, and some other odds and ends. The one or two dogs carry backloads of meat and drag the sticks that go to make the tent frames. Thus loaded, the party travels at the rate of about two miles per hour but seldom moves over eight miles per day. The loads carried by the men and women are about of the same weight, and seldom exceed eighty pounds, for if there is more meat on hand than the dogs can carry they either delay till the surplus is eaten or dried down to suitable weight, or else a stone cache is made for the meat to serve as a relay on the return journey to the coast. Generally, therefore, a family returns to the coast by the way it came south in the spring, or else someone else takes up the caches if some special reason sends the owner by another route. Things en cache seem to belong strictly to the maker of a cache, though all eat equally of the meat when the cache is once broken. Very seldom does anyone, however, help himself from another man's meat pile, his wife is expected to serve out the food to all who want it."

2: Stefansson--88 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 439, 221

"The Victoria Islanders east of the Haneragmiut, a few families of them each year, practise hunting in summer to the Coppermine and Bear Lake for the purpose of securing wood for bows for themselves and for trade, as well as wood for other articles. Besides this, they buy many bows, chiefly perhaps, from the Kogluktogmiut."

3: Rasmussen--76 [2] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Of all the groups living on the southern part of Victoria Land it holds good that caribou hunting and salmon fishing are the main occupations in summer and autumn; the spring caribou trek from the mainland is of no great significance, as the animals come only in small flocks of one or two at a time. Hunting proper goes on in the interior, and in fact it sometimes happens that the hunters go right over to the northeast coast, where the caribou live in summer till well into autumn. Caribou hunting in Victoria Land is never so prolific as on the shores Queen Maud Sea. The Eqalugtôrmiut often abandon it in August, at the time when the young birds have grown, for then salmon fishing in the river Eqalugtôq is at its best."

11: Stefansson--222 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"The Eskimo had all summer been making sledges, wooden snow-shovels, bows and spear handles, and other articles of wood. All these things and a good supply of caribou meat were stored at a spot which we called the 'sled-making place,' but which the Slaveys of Bear Lake, who know the country well and visit it in winter, call 'Big Stick Island.' This is a clump of large spruce trees on the southeast branch of the Dease River. The Eskimo were now waiting for the first snow of the year so they could hitch their dogs to the sleds they had made, load their provisions upon them, and move north toward the coast where they expected to spend the winter sealing. But starvation began to threaten, so that finally, on September 25, the last party started toward the coast, carrying their sleds on their backs, for the first snow had not yet fallen."

11: Stefansson--281 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"We were told that there were no people on Banks Island in summer. Our informants themselves, they said, had spent the winter there at various points on the southeast coast between what we identified as De Salis Bay and Nelson Head, and were the only people who did live anywhere on Banks Island. They had all left there in what we understood to be the latter part of March, and were now bound for the eastward. The majority intended to ascend the River Kagloryuak, which flows into the east end of Prince Albert Sound, and rises near the center of the island. Another river, they told us, the Ekalluktok, also rises near the center of the island, but flows east into what we identified as Albert Edward Bay. Up this river would come to meet them the tribe of the Ekalluktogmiut, who hunt on Dease Strait in winter, but who frequent the same caribou hunting-grounds in summer as do the Prince Albert Sound people, partly on account of the caribou, but also for trading purposes."

and where they spend the summer. The others, however, spend the summer mostly in the country bounded by Dismal lake, the Coppermine, and the east end of Great Bear lake. Throughout this area, timber, caribou and fish are abundant, and the country itself is one of easy travel."

11: Stefansson--284-285 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 484

"One of the first things I did at the village of the Prince Albert Sound people was to inquire about their knowledge of white men. This group is not only the most prosperous as well as the most numerous of all the Copper Eskimo, but they are also remarkable for the extent of their seasonal migrations and for their consequently greater amount of information in regard to their own country and other countries and their general broad-mindedness. With them as with us, extensive travels have had their important effect upon the mental outlook and the character of the people. I found therefore that they were familiar not only with the presence of the exploring vessels to the west of their country during the time of the Franklin Search, and with the location of the Bay of Mercy and the abandonment of M'Clure's ship there, but they also knew about King William Island far to the east, and about the frequent visits of white men to it, and they even had information about the distant island of North Devon, as we could tell not only by the geographic description they gave of the country, but also by their reporting correctly the name of the people who inhabit it, the Tununirohirmiut, which is also the name recorded by Dr. Franz Boas and others from information gathered in Baffin Land and else where in the east.

But most remarkable of all was the variety of countries they had seen with their own eyes. During the middle of winter they occupy the southeastern coast of Banks Island from De Salis Bay to Nelson Head, and it has always been so in the past so far as they

know. About March each year they start east, and towards the middle of May, as we could tell from our present experience, they get to the eastern end of Prince Albert Sound. On the Sound they split into various parties. A few go to the north to hunt, between the Sound and Minto Inlet; in some years a few go south to meet the Eskimo of Point Williams, halfway between the Sound and Dolphin and Union Straits. A considerable number go southeast to meet the people of Simpson Bay (the Puiplirgmiut), and a considerable number also go northeast from the northeast corner of the Sound about forty [285] miles to hunt caribou and to get, from the copper outcrops there, materials for the making of implements for their own use and for sale to other tribes. The largest body of all goes east, as we have already said, to meet the people of Albert Edward Bay (the Ekalluktogmiut) near the center of Victoria Island. But most years two or three sleds will detach themselves from the main body in Prince Albert Sound, hurry east ahead of the others up the Kagloryuak River and down the Ekalluktok River to Albert Edward Bay, and thence south across the Straits to the Ahiagmiut, who inhabit the coast in the neighborhood of Ogden Bay, where they abandon their sleds, for summer has overtaken them, and proceed south with pack-dogs, the people themselves also carrying packs, until they reach the shores of Back River, where the Back River people, known to them as the Haningayogmiut, make rafts of their kayaks and ferry them to the south shore of the stream. Resuming their overland travel, they eventually reach Hanbury's Arkilinik River in its wooded section, probably early in August.

11: Stefansson--284-285 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo-3
116, 221, 484

The chief object of this journey has been to get wood and wooden articles of all kinds, which they obtain partly by cutting the trees and shaping the wood to their own desires, and partly by barter in exchange for copper implements and such things from the Eskimo of the Arkilinik, whom they call the Pallirgmiut."

11: Stefansson--288-289 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 484, 221

"Range of the Kanghirgyuargmiut. In summer some of them (a few) hunt towards Minto Inlet; some hunt southeast and meet the Puiblirgmiut; most, however, hunt east and meet the Ekallugtogmuit and Ashiagmiut who live 'on the east coast of our country, which is not far from here overland, and good sledding because we go by the rivers.' Some join the Ekallugtogmuit for a time and with them visit the Arkilnik [near Baker Lake above the head of Chesterfield Inlet] 'where there are trees, and where the people have guns and white men's clothes.' (Have seen many metal articles, one shirt, one red knit woollen hood, etc., brought from these trips.) They [289] never met the Nagyuktogmiut. One man at least--Hitkoak----has been both to the Akilnik and to Umingmuktok.

In the fall they [the Kanghirgyuargmiut] come to Prince Albert Sound and proceed to Banks Island where in winter they live chiefly on bears (some entirely; others partly on seals) off Nelson Head and east of it. When beat hunting they often see Cape Parry [on the mainland to the south]. Nelson Head can be seen from Parry only from the hill tops, and that rarely, and it is much higher than Parry, so they must hunt almost to the middle of the strait.

They usually have houses on or by the shore when in Banks Island. They often see caribou but 'do not know how to hunt them in winter.' They know there are musk-oxen inland but they do not go after them. In spring they return to the Sound and soon scatter to the various hunting places. Those going to the Ekallugtogmiut are already on the way

(intended starting the day after we came to the village and delayed for us). Those going north towards Minto do not leave the sea till 'the snow gets soft on the ice.'"

12: Collinson--221-222 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 437, 221, 225, 342

"The carpenter having made an outline sketch of a human skeleton, it was placed on the grave of our deceased shipmate, in hopes that it would deter the natives from disturbing his remains. They paid us a last visit on the 3rd, and we parted very good friends. We would have been better pleased could they have abstained from stealing. There is, however, great excuse for them; such riches they had never seen before: pieces of iron hoop, empty preserved meat tins, old clothes, &c., were still eagerly sought for. In considera-[222] tion of the many bows and arrows that had been purchased from them, I presented them as a last gift with one of the small spars we had obtained at Sitka, which would nearly supply the whole tribe. It is very difficult to say where they wintered, but I do not think they went further than the inlet Mr. Jago explored. Leaving us as they did on the 9th of November, and the sun disappearing on the 18th, there was but little daylight left. That they went round Point Wollaston is, I think, almost proved to a certainty by the cylinder deposited by Mr. Skead having been removed; and that they had been in communication with the party met by Lieut. Jago is also, I conceive, evident by the fact of his seeing Hongkong beads in their possession. My belief is that they wintered on the islands to the north side of that inlet he explored, where tide and wind would occasion cracks throughout nearly the whole winter, and whence they obtain seals. Several skins full of blubber were on their sleighs when they first returned, of which Mr. Phayre purchased five, making us rather more than 60 gallons of oil. Fuel they are totally independent of, and a snow-drift affords them material

for a winter habitation, the most elaborate of which would not occupy the family more than a day in erection. While with us they were constantly on the move, the tent seldom remaining two days in the same position, unless for lake fishing."

12: Collinson--283-284 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 221

"Remarks on Esquimos.

This perhaps will be the best place to relate the few facts we gathered concerning their habits and customs, and to describe Cambridge Bay.

The costume and dialect agree (as did those we met with last year) with what is described by Sir E. Parry and Sir John Ross; they therefore belong to what Captain Washington in his vocabulary has appropriately termed, 'The Winter Island, Iglulik, or Central tribe.' The line of demarcation between them and the Kotzebue Sound portion will in all probability be found to be the Mackenzie. The [284] number seen by us in this vicinity I estimated at between 200 and 300, of which between 50 and 100 returned in the spring; the inner harbour, the large lake west of Mount Pelly, and the peninsula about Cape Colborne, forming their hunting and fishing ground from May until October; at which period they follow the deer to the mainland, where having first collected together in the neighbourhood of the Finlayson Islands, they winter; but the precise spot we did not discover; it could not, however, have been very far from us, as we were visited continually during the winter. I fully expected to have found them on the Finlayson Islands in the spring, as it was usual for them to come from that direction; but on my visit in April, there were no signs of winter huts, although numerous caches showed them to be a place of great resort."

12: Collinson--284 (1851-53) 1889 Copper Eskimo
116, 501, 221

"Although not as much deprived of wood as those [T. M: Eskimo;] with whom Sir John Ross's voyage has made us acquainted, they must be considered as a land not a sea people, that is to say, they have not the materials wherewith to build an oomiak; two kayaks are all we saw among them, and these of such frail materials, that the one I have weighs only 26lbs., and the keel is composed of three pieces of wood. So that there is no communication between Victoria Island and the continent, and very little between it and the islets along the coast, until the sea is bridged over by the ice. One portion of the tribe I presume remain on the main during the summer."

13: Jenness--89-91
116, 221

(1914-1916) 1917

Copper Eskimo

"The food supply is practically limited to seals, fish, and caribou. Polar bears, brown bears, musk-oxen, squirrels, and one or two minor animals supplement these articles a little in some places, but never become staples. Seal skins and caribou skins are indispensable for clothing and tents, and seal blubber for fuel and light. The natives take kindly to the white man's food, but only as a luxury. Sealing is prosecuted in winter, when the seals are harpooned through their breathing holes in the ice. At this season the Eskimos are gathered in large settlements off the coast. In spring they migrate to the land, scattering into small bands to fish in the streams and lakes and hunt the caribou which are then making their way northwards. For fishing spears and lines are used, usually with barbless hooks; salmon are trapped in stone weirs and speared as they migrate up the streams to the lakes. Caribou are shot with bow and arrow, or speared from kayaks when driven into lakes. Recently a number of Winchester rifles have been introduced, mostly of 30-30 and .44 caliber. In consequence more caribou are shot than formerly, and the natives are learning to shoot seals on the surface of the ice in spring. Rifles may in years to come seriously reduce the number of caribou in the country, and more valuable than they would be the introduction of fish-nets, for almost every lake teems with salmon and trout, and the salmon annually migrate in large numbers up most of the rivers and creeks. The possession of umiaks, too, if the art of [91] making them were learned from the western natives, would greatly assist in the setting of nets as well as in the shooting of seals in the open sea."

22: Richardson--345-347 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Year after year sees these people occupied in a uniform circle of pursuits. When the rivers open in spring they resort to rapids and falls, to spear the various kinds of fish that ascend the streams at that period to spawn. At the same date, or a little [346] earlier in more southern localities, they hunt reindeer, which drop their young on the coasts and islands while the snow is only partially melted. Vast multitudes of swans, geese, and ducks, resorting to the same quarters to breed, aid in supplying the Eskimos with food during their short but busy summer of two months. In the beginning of September the rein-deer assemble in large bands and commence their march southwards; and then the Eskimos reap a rich harvest by waylaying them at established passes on the rivers or narrow places of a lake. On parts of the coast frequented by whales, the month of August is devoted to the exciting pursuit of these animals, a successful chase ensuring a comfortable winter to a whole community. Throughout the summer, the families associated by twos and threes live in tents of skins, and generally enjoy abundance of food, while they carefully lay up what they cannot consume for after use. In this respect they are more provident that the Hare Indians, or Dog-ribs, who seldom trouble themselves with storing up provisions. This difference of the habits of the two nations, which greatly influences their general characters, has perhaps originated in the different circumstances in which they are placed. The Eskimos, wintering on the coast, are in darkness at mid-winter: the rein-deer and musk-oxen have [347] then retreated into the 'Tinnè

[AW: Indian] lands, and fish cannot at that season be procured in their waters; life, therefore, can only be maintained in an Eskimo winter by stores provided in summer."

22: Richardson--350-351 (1848-49) 1851 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

[AW: Not limited to the Copper Eskimo]

"The success of the seal-hunt depends much on [351] the state of the ice and should it fail, great misery results; the spring being, in fact, the time of the year in which the Central Eskimos incur the greatest risk of famine. When the thaw lays the ground in the valleys bare, rein-deer and wild-fowl return to the sea-coast, and plenty follows in their train."

28 a large hole where these protruded through and two small holes that marked
224 the eye sockets. The ears he usually cut off at the roots, and pulled them out of the skin with his teeth at his leisure; but in certain circumstances, when it was forbidden to use a knife, he pulled free the outer integument on the spot.

281 In the late spring, when the caribou was putting on a new coat, the winter
221 hair remained longest on the throat and belly. As this part was useless for
224 clothing, the hair being prone to shed, the Eskimo frequently preserved only the part on which the new coat had already formed and threw the rest of the skin away. In such cases the preliminary incisions for removing the skin followed the outlines of the short hair. Often, however, the native anticipated the natural shedding of the winter hair by pulling it out with his thumb and fingers, leaving the new coat very short and spotted with white hairs, but in this condition highly prized. Later in the season, when the belly of the animal was covered with short white hair, invaluable for trimming, he made a cut along each flank and removed that part of the skin before detaching the remainder.

281 Blood stains were extracted by rubbing or stamping the skin in hard snow, which acted like damp blotting paper; or by steeping it in cold water and squeezing the hair. The Copper Eskimo woman was very careful not to allow a green skin to dry before scraping away with her curved knife the fat that still adhered to it; and as these scrapings were pure fat, she generally ate them at once, or put them aside for future consumption. Then she stretched the skin out to dry by pegging it to the ground with sticks or weighting down the edges with stones; the white belly skin and the large short-haired skins intended for bedding she always pegged down in order to stretch them as much as possible.
[484] When travelling across country day after day in the short Arctic summer, the skin was laid over the back of the pack or across a long pole; and at every halt it was stretched out afresh on the ground to hasten the drying, because a green skin weighed twice as much as a dry one. Once the skin was dry it could be
[412] laid aside and not touched again until needed. Then the owner sewed up the rents and scraped the whole underside with the copper- (now iron-) bladed
[462] scraper (*See* p. 84). The woman (or man, for the men often scraped skins while the women sewed them) sat back on the sleeping platform, or on the ground outside the tent, and stretched out the skin in front of her. Holding it
[516] tightly pinioned at the bottom between her crossed legs, she pulled it taut above the knee with her left hand and scraped rapidly downwards away from her with the right. A sudden relaxation of the leg, and a quick jerk, found her scraping in a new place. To the onlooker her body seemed strained and her attitude very uncomfortable, but long practice greatly reduced the fatigue, though the labour really was hard. Indeed I have seen the perspiration rolling down a woman's face as she scraped a skin outdoors when the temperature was below zero Fahrenheit.

[262] The Copper Eskimo woman often ate the scrapings that came away during this operation, although they contained very little fat. To soften the skin still further she rubbed tepid water over its under surface, folded it up, and laid it
[230] on one side for a few hours. Then she scraped it again, this time with an
[412] instrument made from the shoulder blade of a musk-ox, which merely stretched and softened the skin without removing anything from its surface (*See* p. 83).

28 The stretching and softening of the skin was usually the last process it
294 underwent before it was made up into clothing. If, however, the woman desired
[412] the skin without fur, as for making the upper legs of her long boots, she scraped the hair from the dry skin with her curved knife. Copper Eskimo clothing was
[531] often decorated with red, black, or white bands; the white was the natural
[386] colour of the skin; the red was produced by rubbing with litharge; and the black parts were either untanned sealskin, or else seal or caribou skin stained
[296] with galena. Ordinary dirt stains on white deerskin could be removed with dry snow.

Hough again, in his well-known memoir,[1] distinguishes three kinds of Eskimo lamps on the basis of their use, viz. the house lamp, the travelling or summer lamp, and the mortuary lamp, the latter frequently being models.

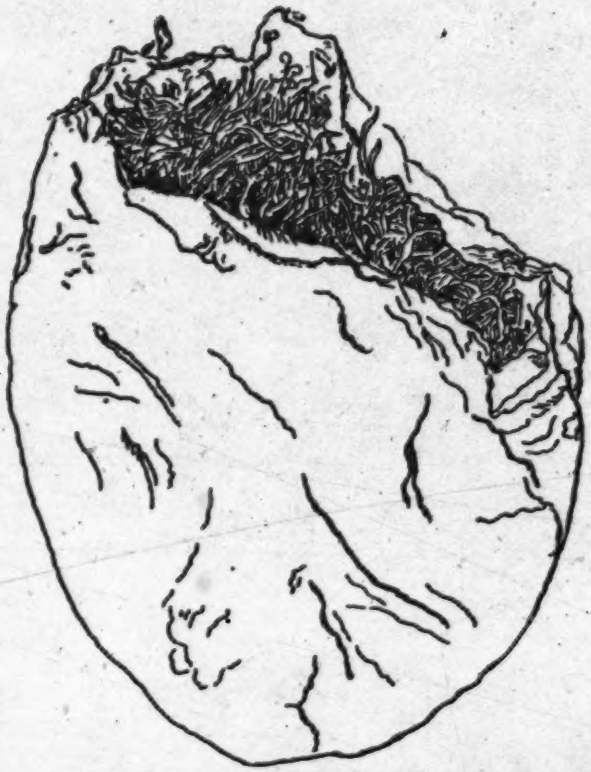

Figure 48. Bag for dry grass, made from the lining around an animal's heart. IV.D.228. 1/1.

Neither of these statements is quite correct when applied to the Copper Eskimo. They had lamps of every size, from 2 or 3 inches long up to 50 inches; and small vessels 8 or 12 inches long were as common as lamps of 30 inches. From June to September or October, when most of the snow had melted from the land and the families were scattered in search of fish and caribou, the natives generally cached their lamps with the sleds on the seashore or on the margins of lakes, and used for fuel dwarf willow, heather, *Dryas integrifolia*, and other plants, instead of blubber. Consequently, they had no special summer lamp. But because their ordinary lamp seldom functioned during the summer months we cannot say with Porsild that it had lost its importance as a heater. It still remained the indispensable prerequisite of existence during two-thirds of the year for heat as well as for light.

[1] Hough, Walter: Ann. Rept. Smith. Inst., U.S. Nat. Mus., 1898, p. 1008.

I know of only one source for this material that is used at the present time by the Copper Eskimo, Port Epworth at the mouth of Tree River in Coronation Gulf where the talc chlorite schist occurs as an inclusion in the granite. It is very coarse in texture, and of a pale grey colour, as can be seen in unused specimens or by fracturing an old one.

Nevertheless, there seem once to have been other sources. An old woman who lived at the east end of Coronation Gulf told me that long ago her people used to make lamps and pots from stone obtained in a quarry on Rae River. An early explorer, John Rae, did find soapstone at the fall 10 miles from the mouth of this river,[1] but only in thin beds, which might explain why the Eskimo ceased to use this source. Then again, I purchased from a Coronation Gulf native a little toy lamp of typical Copper Eskimo shape (Figure 50), which was certainly not made from the Port Epworth soapstone, for it is much finer in texture and of a pale green colour. In the same region I obtained also an unfinished implement, resembling an imitation lance-head, which was made from a very similar soapstone, but is yellowish green. Finally, from the west coast of Hudson Bay, probably from Chesterfield Inlet, the museum has a toy lamp (IV.C.165) that resembles in colour, texture, and graining the green toy lamp bought in Coronation Gulf; in shape and dimensions the two are practically identical except that the Hudson Bay specimen has no shelf. Morley E. Wilson, of the Geological Survey, Canada, expressed the opinion that these lamps almost certainly came from the same quarry, because this type of soapstone is exceedingly rare in Canada, and that the implement like a lance-head was also derived from the same locality. It is worth noting that there are deposits of soapstone near the mouth of Back River.

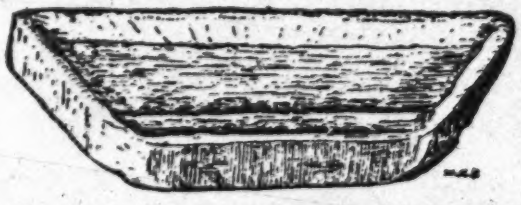

Figure 50. Toy lamp, of pale green soapstone. IV.D.612. 1/1.

Up to a few years ago natives from Dolphin and Union Strait in the west to Amundsen Gulf in the east often migrated to the Port Epworth quarry in the spring of the year in order to manufacture their own lamps and pots. Each family usually made more vessels than it required for its own use in order to have some for barter when it returned home the following autumn or winter.

Women and children often fashioned the smaller lamps and pots. The larger ones were the work of the men, although once they were finished and handed over to the housewife they became her exclusive property. No special skill was required; children 10 years of age could make small lamps just as good as those made by their elders. A little more care was necessary in working at a pot, because the rock, though soft, was somewhat brittle, and the walls and bottom had to be comparatively thin; but even this was not beyond the ability of a child, as it required patience rather than technical skill. With his crude copper tools a native could quarry out his block and make the largest lamp that was ever used in about 3 days, and the largest pot in no more than a day longer; iron tools, of course, appreciably lessened the time. First, he chiselled

[1] Richardson, Sir John: Journal of a Boat Voyage through Rupert's Land, vol. I, p. 312. London, 1851

lines, harpoon lines, and lashings of various kinds. No doubt the Copper Eskimo in emergencies made use of sinew from other sources, for the Mackenzie Delta natives sometimes use the sinew on the tail of the fox, which is about a foot long and said to be of excellent quality. 283

After the flesh had been carefully scraped away the sinew was allowed to dry a little; but as prolonged exposure to the heat of the sun rendered it stiff and brittle, it was generally stored away at once in a bag. The value of a slab of back sinew was fairly high everywhere along the Arctic coast.[1] Caribou were very abundant in the Copper Eskimo country until about 1919, but in the absence of linen or cotton thread—which in any case is less suitable for skin garments—sinew was in such great demand that it was constantly traded from one family or group to another. [435] [136] [437]

For ordinary sewing a thin strand was stripped off the slab with the teeth or thumb nail, drawn through the teeth to remove all roughness, and rolled against the cheek to twist it into a single smooth thread. Waterboots, however, called for a stouter three-ply thread, made by the women and girls in the house, where they fastened the ends of the threads to the drying rack, and caught the middle strand between the second and third fingers while they crossed the two outer ones with the thumbs and index fingers. Fishing lines of leg sinew were plaited similarly of three strands, but the harpoon lines, which required to be flat, had from four to eight strands, sometimes even more. Twisting, as with rope, was an unknown art.

Sewing Bags and Baskets. A Copper Eskimo woman without her needle and thread would have been as uncomfortable as a European housewife without her knitting. Sewing was no impediment to gossip: the woman sat on the sleeping skins, her legs doubled under her or stretched out in front, and plied her needle and her tongue at the same rate. Always she sewed from right to left; only a left-handed person sewed in the opposite direction. She held the thimble on the first finger (not on the middle, as we do), and pushed the needle through the skin with the side of the thimble, not with its top, if indeed it had a top. Then she caught the point between the thumb and middle finger, drew the needle out, turned it on its side, and with her thimble behind it pulled through the thread and reinserted the needle for the next stitch. Usually she did not tauten the thread until the second stitch. 294 462 [516] [521]

There was more sewing to be done at certain seasons than at others. Thus, in the autumn, all the new clothing for the winter had to be finished before the sun disappeared below the horizon for the long winter night. The women then sewed from early morning until late at night, with only brief respites to cook the meals or to pass the time of day with neighbours. A woman who had no children to sew for was, of course, less busy; the mother of a family was obliged not only to make the clothes for the whole household, but to train her girls to be dressmakers also. The latter began their training with odd scraps of skin, which they learned to join with neat close stitches. Later, they mended rents in their own clothing, and made dolls fully clothed from head to foot. Many men could make their own trousers and socks, and even sealskin shoes in an emergency; but only a very few could cut out a well-fitting coat or make a pair of waterboots that would really keep out the water. Even the women never attained great skill in these last-mentioned tasks until long after marriage, and a young wife often sought the assistance of an older relative or friend. [221] 294 462 868

The work-basket of most women was a bag of caribou or some other skin, or else, more rarely, a neatly worked basket of coiled willow twigs held in place with willow-bark stitching (Figures 91, 92). All the baskets that I saw were 415 [285]

[1] In 1914 the price of one slab of reindeer back sinew at Barrow, Alaska, was $1.

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Because many natives experienced difficulty in obtaining a piece of wood large enough to carve into a bowl, they often substituted a curved piece of bone or of musk-ox horn, lashed to a wooden handle. Specimens of these more or less makeshift scoops are illustrated in Figure 138, where *a* (IV.D.135) has a bowl of musk-ox horn, and *b* (IV.D.179) of bone. The handles of such scoops could be lengthened, if necessary, by lashing to the walking-stick or fish spear, for which purpose their owners often cut notches at the ends.

SEALING EQUIPMENT

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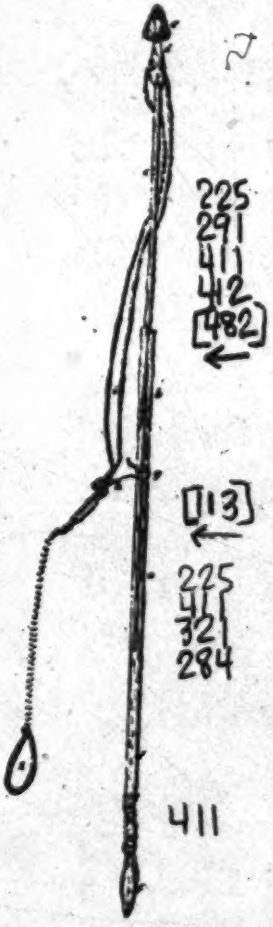
In the spring and autumn, when the seals were basking on the surface of the ice, Copper Eskimo hunters occasionally tried to crawl near enough to transfix them with their harpoons; but so slight were their chances of getting within range—unless perhaps in rough ice where there were sheltering hummocks—that most men never attempted the feat until they obtained rifles, which extended the effective distance for attack from 8 or 10 yards to 100 yards. Every man, on the other hand, and even some of the younger women, regularly tracked down the seals' breathing holes in the ice during the winter months and harpooned the animals when they rose to the surface. In midwinter, when the days were short, they started out for their hunting grounds half an hour before dawn, and did not return home until after dark. Their outfit was fairly standardized, though not always complete. Each man wore a long outer coat of thick caribou fur to protect his body from the cold. Sewn to the back of this coat was a bone button (*See* Figure 37) for the attachment of various tools, viz., a scoop to clear away the snow, bone skewers for closing the wounds in the seals, a toggle to drag them home, a spare harpoon head, and sometimes a foot-pad to protect the hunter's feet as he waited motionless, 1, 2, or even 3 hours, over the breathing hole. In his hand he carried his harpoon, the usual long, two-edged knife, and an "indicator" to warn him when a seal was rising to breathe; and from one wrist hung a special toggle that he attached to the trace of his dog. His method of hunting is described in "Life of the Copper Eskimos", Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, pages 112-114; here we need consider only the details of his tools and weapons.



Harpoons. The harpoon was roughly the height of a man, or from 5 feet 6 inches to 6 feet long; and it varied only in minor details (Figure 139). It contained essentially four parts—a shaft, usually of wood, but occasionally of two or more pieces of antler riveted and lashed together; a bone or antler (very rarely, copper) foreshaft that fitted into a hollow bone cap at the end of the shaft; a detachable head with a long hand line of plaited sinew;

Figure 139. Sealing harpoon. *a*: wooden shaft; *b*: bone socket-piece riveted to the shaft with copper nails; *c*: antler foreshaft; *d*: antler head; *e*: copper blade; *f*: antler butt; *g, h*: sinew from hand line tucked under the thong that runs along the shaft, the thong itself being held down at this point with a copper staple; *i*: hand line of braided sinew; *k*: grip of hand line. IV.D.604. 1/10.

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whom we had twice caught glimpses during the summer; but they failed to appear. At last I made ready a sled and dog-team to search for them forty miles to the westward around Stapylton Bay, Cox volunteering to accompany me, because it is never wise for a man to travel alone in the Arctic.

Our rations for the journey included a supply of white beans, which I determined to cook beforehand to save time and fuel on the trail. I carefully measured two gallons into a three-gallon pot, covered them with water, and set them to boil on the stove. But they seem to have swollen beyond my expectations, for my colleagues declared that before the afternoon ended I had filled every pot in the house, and commandeered every cauldron around the station in a vain effort to stem the rising tide.

We travelled three days, and found no Eskimos in the vicinity of Stapylton Bay. The ice was soft and sticky, but we struggled along to Hope Point, a distance of twenty-five miles. Before we reached the point a dark line in the sky above the horizon warned us that the sea was not everywhere covered with solid ice, and just beyond we came up against a great lead of water that stretched as far as the eye could see. Farther [221] progress was useless and indeed impossible. The season was too early; no Eskimos would settle on the coast while the sea remained open. So we cached

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the conclusion of the feast, but the novel friendship persisted, and the hunter always treated "Hippimanna" as a brother whenever their paths happened to bring them together.

About the middle of November, when Chipman and O'Neill were outfitting for their journey, the Eskimos in the hinterland gave up caribou-hunting and settled on the coast to prepare for the sealing season. Five families who had built their snow-houses a few miles east of our station now paid us daily visits, and the women rendered good service by making us clothes and sleeping-bags from the raw furs we had brought on our schooners. They sewed most of these articles inside the station, where we provided the necessary needles and thread; and they behaved amazingly well, considering their inexperience of white men and the strangeness of the surroundings. Their broad, smiling faces enlivened our sober home, and their keen sense of humour led to many amusing incidents. They thought the panes of glass a novel kind of ice, and on their first visit could not distinguish the door from the rest of the house. "Knee," a comedian already admitted inside, laughed and gesticulated at them through the windows, and when they wandered round and round, seeking in vain for the entrance, gravely advised them to try the stove-pipe.

Their honesty, alas! was not above suspicion. Nor could we feel surprised. We were white men, beings

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Light, a motherly old lady for whom we had entertained the greatest respect. It fell to my lot to recover it, so I quietly asked her to bring back our *ookoosik*, as the Eskimos call all cooking vessels. The old lady smiled graciously and went home. Two hours later she returned and handed me, not the frying-pan, but an enormous four-gallon pot that, unknown to us, she had also filched from one of our caches.

To distract their attention from our station and caches I decided to study the natives at their own homes, and to that end induced them to build me a snow-hut. There I lived beside them for three days, enjoying their hospitality and sharing their food as they shared mine. Their life was very tranquil at this period; the women stayed home and sewed, while the men wandered back to a small lake and fished until dark. In the evenings they questioned me about my own country. Some of my food tasted good, they said, especially the sugar; but why did I eat so much grass (rice and oatmeal) instead of strong, nourishing meat? Were seals and caribou not numerous in my land? And my woollen clothes, from what strange skins did they come? Were they the best garments that white men could secure? Surely their own country was far richer than mine.

They told me one evening of a large tribe that was mustering on the opposite side of the strait, and a man volunteered to guide me to the village. Together we

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arrows. We had supplies in abundance to cover most of their needs; but the other members of our party spoke no Eskimo, and had gladly delegated all the trading to me after the first day's experience. Anderson, who joined us at Christmas, approved the arrangement, which held throughout the duration of the expedition. It placed a power in my hands that increased my security among the natives and rescued me from more than one awkward predicament. On this occasion the mere cessation of trade for a few days quelled their aggressiveness and checked any further attempt at open robbery.

As soon as the majority of the women had finished their sewing, the Eskimos began to migrate along the coast to a low promontory from which they could cross in one day to the Liston and Sutton Islands. They moved on different mornings, and at different hours of the morning, some early and some late. Their only clocks were the sun by day and the moon and stars by night; but the sun had now disappeared for several weeks, the moon set early, and the stars do not shine through walls of snow. So my host, who wished to set out at daybreak, roused his household nearly three hours too soon; and his grievous error made us shiver in idleness on the sleeping-platform until it grew light enough to load up the sleds.

The villagers were too practical to carry all the furniture out through the long passageways when they

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abandoned their huts. Those who had windows of ice in their houses removed them and passed their goods through the gap; and those who had no windows cut large holes in the walls, which they could fill up with a snow-block or two if they wanted to reoccupy the huts. But the Eskimos seldom returned to the same habitations; old houses remained deserted until the spring, when they melted slowly away under the warm rays of the sun. Passing travellers might occupy them for a night, but even they generally preferred to build new houses, which were warmer and more comfortable. Hence one could readily discover all the winter movements of these Eskimos by tracking down the villages they had successively deserted between October and May.

Our migration along the coast resulted in a new settlement of snow-huts a few yards out from the beach. It was too early in the winter to camp far from shore, for a violent gale might break the level ice-field into drifting floes. Even the light gale that sprang up four nights later produced a large tide-crack under two houses that lay more to seaward than the rest. Misfortune ruled that I should be sleeping in one of them. The snow-blocks cracked one after another, with loud reports like pistol-shots, and the walls split from ceiling to floor. Then the water poured up through the tide-crack and flooded the hut nearly to the level of the sleeping-platform. My hostess, stepping down to

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relight the lamp, sank up to her knees in the icy slush; her terrified shriek made us leap from our beds in alarm. Fortunately the water rose no higher during the night, or we might have had difficulty in escaping to the land. As it was we were able to wait until daylight, when we cut a hole through the back wall and transported our belongings to a safer home beyond the reach of the tide.

I marvelled at the time that the roof of the dwelling did not cave in upon our heads. But a snow-hut is remarkably solid once the warmth inside has converted its walls to ice. Soon after this gale I visited the hut in which I was nearly asphyxiated a few weeks before, and the native who accompanied me stood on its highest block without disaster. He mounted cautiously, it is true, for even ice must be fairly thick to withstand a pressure of 150 pounds; and the walls of this hut were still mainly snow, for we had occupied it only one night. But it was a striking test of the solidity of a snow-house, and explained why the entire half of a dwelling may be cut away without disturbing the other half.

There were so many things of interest in our new settlement, so much that was novel and strange to record in my note-books each evening, that the days passed almost unnoticed. The Eskimos themselves knew nothing of days or weeks; they kept no reckoning even of the months, only of the changing seasons as they affected the food supply.

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honour. They had built no dance-house, and did not possess a drum; but about thirty squeezed into an ordinary dwelling-house eleven feet in diameter, where they banged my frying-pan and sang at the tops of their voices until the snow-ceiling, melting with the warmth of so many human beings, began to drip ice-cold water on our heads. The din and odour were terrific, more than flesh and blood could endure; so, pushing my way through the crowd, I retired to the purity of the outer air and gradually regained my senses.

We remained in this village one day and two nights while I measured all its adult inhabitants. Seal meat was not plentiful, and a longer stay would have left my dogs without food. Moreover, it was not necessary, for I was now formally introduced to the people, and could study them at my leisure when they joined the other two tribes in the Liston and Sutton Islands at the end of the month.

My party on the return journey was increased by three—Wealthy's cousin, whose wife was already at the island village, and two girls, Mrs. Snow-Knife's sister and another, who were bound on the high-road to matrimony. The brides piled everything they owned on top of my sled, which creaked and groaned under the extra load. Luckily their trousseaux were not as formidable as their white sisters', or we should never have reached our journey's end. The average Eskimo

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names, Liver and Icehouse. Both seemed rather misleading; she was really neither choleric nor frigid, but a jolly, high-spirited old lady with the warmest heart imaginable, and a tongue more prone to gossip than was strictly advisable. She received us with open arms, and resigned to us half the platform in her hut, where we slept and stored all our possessions. Since her platform looked directly into the dance-house, the centre of social life, we saw everything that happened in the community, or heard it reported to our neighbours.

January was generally the coldest, darkest, and stormiest month in the year, the only month that the Eskimos really dreaded. Blizzards often confined them to their houses five days out of seven, and even if a hunter braved the storms he could find no seal-holes through the driving snow. Hunger then reigned in every hut, and the inmates shivered with cold as they extinguished their lamps one by one to conserve the oil. But the winter of 1914-15 was unusually mild. Blizzards were rare even in January, and they were separated by periods of calm weather when the hunters captured five and six seals daily. So the lamps burned brightly in all the houses and the natives were light-hearted and happy. They gaily assembled in the dance-house each evening to while away the hours with song and dance; and their medicine-men often gave weird performances, not to relieve distress, but simply to maintain their prestige and entertain their audiences.

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anvils with our hunting-knives. Anderson then became strangely reminiscent, and related droll stories of his college days, of the Spanish-American War, and of his experiences on a former expedition to the Arctic. Suddenly he stopped, and Johansen and I returned to the marrow-bones. Nothing remained but fragments. I could account for four bones only, Johansen for only two; Anderson himself had slyly demolished the other eighteen. In fairness, however, I should add that he has always denied the accuracy of these figures.

The long, winding Coppermine enters the sea by two mouths, which are separated from one another by a low, grass-covered island capped with two diabase hills at its northern end. The river is here about three miles wide, but immediately narrows down to a few hundred yards. We encountered nothing but smooth ice for the first ten miles, so smooth that the snow had blown off it in many places. The dogs soon lost their tempers here, for they slid over the ice in all directions when the toboggans stuck fast on the tiniest snow-patch. Steep mud-banks hemmed us in on either side, sloping back to a level plateau in a series of cone-shaped pyramids. We came upon willows growing as high as seven or eight feet, the nearest approach to trees that any of us had seen for many months; and we passed two deserted snow-houses erected by some Eskimos returning from the Dismal Lakes early in the winter. Just as darkness began to close in we pitched our tent

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speak the white man's language and perform his intricate dances.

The performance ended at last, and the people began to disperse to their huts. Cockney, who was among the first to vanish, hastened to the station to describe my abnormal behaviour and organize a strong party that would bring me safely home. But before he had finished his narrative I myself arrived on the scene and offered a more reasonable explanation of my conduct.

The natives living out in the strait became very friendly again when the charge of murder was lifted from my head. I visited their settlement twice for periods of three or four days, staying each time with my old acquaintance, Ikpuck. The sun was now much higher in the sky, and a mildness in the atmosphere indicated the approach of spring. Snow-huts would soon be untenable; the slight melting of their ceilings around noon had already caused some of the people to move into large tents made of caribou skins. With the advent of longer days the hunters captured more seals, and the women were packing the surplus blubber into large bags to cache on the coast until autumn. Everything seemed to be changing. The various bands that had united in midwinter were separating out again and moving to different sealing-grounds; and every fortnight, as the new sealing-grounds became exhausted, they moved their settlements forward a few more miles.

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few more miles. Even the little children had work to do, for this harvest season would last only until May, when the breaking up of the sea-ice would drive the natives from their sealing to fish and hunt caribou on the land.

It was time now to decide what my own movements should be during the summer months, and I suggested to Ikpuck that I might join his train to Victoria Island, taking my own outfit. The old man was delighted with the plan, and, having no children of his own, formally adopted me into his family, which consisted of himself and his wife Icehouse, Sculpin or Jennie, Icehouse's daughter by a former marriage, and an adopted nephew named Knife-Blade. The Runner, a married son of Icehouse, intended to join the party; probably also two or three families of near kinsmen. The entire band would assemble on the ice within the next three or four weeks, when Ikpuck would send word to me at the station. In the meantime I could travel east with Cox, who needed a companion and a dog-team for surveying a portion of the coast-line.

The short trip with Cox was a pleasant change from constant association with the Eskimos; it was like moving from one world into another. Yet we could not avoid the natives entirely. Two families were hunting large bearded seals in a bay a few miles east of our station, and a small band had camped near Cape

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decided, therefore, to turn back and forward the mail by ship when the season for navigation arrived.

With the extra man and dog-team now available, Cox no longer required my assistance in his topographical work; so we returned to the station with Anderson to arrange the programs for the next seven months. Cox intended to complete the map of the coast-line to the mouth of the Rae River, then, ascending the river to its source, cross overland to Bernard Harbour. Chipman and O'Neill would finish their survey of the western coast-line to Darnley Bay; afterward they would continue Cox's survey, extending it from the mouth of the Rae River to the eastern end of Coronation Gulf, where Cox and Anderson would join them in our schooner, the *North Star,* as soon as the ice broke up. Anderson and Johansen were to carry on biological and zoological work at the station during the spring, and Johansen would remain there all summer after Anderson went eastward. I myself proposed to join the Eskimos going to Victoria Island, and return to Bernard Harbour when the sea froze over again in November. Each man worked out his own plans to harmonize with the rest, and Anderson, with full confidence in his staff, approved them all without question, seeking only ways and means to furnish the necessary equipment.

My "father" Ikpuck arrived four days later to guide me to his settlement, which had been moved twice dur-

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ing my brief absence. It was now mid-April, and the natives were travelling in easy stages toward the land, allowing a few days between each migration for the women and children to freight forward the pokes of blubber and the men to resume their sealing. All the families had adopted skin tents in place of snow-houses, or, if their tents were still cached on the coast, they roofed circular walls of snow with the skins of caribou and musk-oxen. The camp was mottled with clothing, suspended from sticks, to dry in the warm sun; and at every little snow-flurry the women rushed from the tents to beat the light flakes from each garment before they melted and spoiled the fur. Night and day had merged into one another, the sun disappearing for one hour only at midnight; and the temperature remained fairly constant around 15°F., except at noon, when it mounted at times to the freezing-point.

The younger women, who were as well versed as the men in the peculiar habits of the seal, often went out with the hunters to escape the monotonous care of clothes and blubber. Each seal appeared to have its special territory, like a bird in the nesting season; and every half-hour or so it came to the surface to breathe. In summer, with open water all around, it rose at any place; but when the sea froze in the autumn it could reach the atmosphere only by breaking through the thin sheet of ice that covered its domain. The breathing-holes made at that season remained open

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with seal meat and hot tea. So ended our little journey, which began as a pleasant excursion, but developed, for me at least, into a rather toilsome march. Ikpuck was more accustomed to such vicissitudes, and thought the incident hardly worth mentioning.

We lingered a fortnight longer on the sea-ice, revelling in the mild weather of the Arctic spring. Day and night were hardly distinguishable, for the end of April saw the midnight sun. It mattered little whether we retired to our sleeping-bags at midnight or at noon; the night hours were preferable for travelling, because by 7 P.M. the melting slush of noon began to freeze again and the heavily laden sleds glided along more easily. When the days were warm and sunny a few seals emerged from their holes to bask on the surface of the ice, and in clear weather one or two herds of caribou marched steadily past us toward Victoria Island.

Slowly we too moved northward, travelling about twelve miles at a time, then halting for a week to allow the hunters to capture a few more seals, and their wives to accumulate more blubber. During one of these journeys my companions discovered a seal-hole covered as usual by the crust of snow. I thought it was nothing but the ordinary breathing-hole, about a foot in diameter, leading down to the water, and was lingering beside my sled, when Ikpuck called me over to examine it. Burrowed out in the snow alongside the

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of three hours. At times I myself almost rivalled his feat without either quenching my thirst or feeling that it was in any way abnormal.

Early in May we camped four miles from the south coast of Victoria Island, where the hunters could continue sealing, if they wished, or intercept the caribou as they grazed on the beach before proceeding inland. Sealing was the more profitable occupation, since the caribou were lean from long travelling and their meat satisfied the hunger of neither men nor dogs. Even their hides were useless, for the larvæ of warble-flies had profusely perforated them, and the long white fur of winter was beginning to shed and give place to a shorter coat of brown. But my companions, who had lived on seal meat alone for four months, craved variety, and the sight of caribou increased the desire. We divided our party; those who had only bows and arrows continued to watch over the seal-holes, and the three who possessed rifles hunted caribou, Ikpuck with a .44 Winchester, The Runner with a .22 Remington, and myself with a Ross Sporting .280.

Our first caribou hunt gave me some useful training for the days to follow. A man who had risen earlier than the rest sighted five caribou passing our camp a mile to the eastward, and awakened Ikpuck and me. We dressed hastily, and, without waiting for breakfast, raced at top speed for the shore to cut them off as soon as they landed. Breathless with the exertion,

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kinsman Ikpuck. For the rest, he was an energetic hunter, a good sealer, and a very skilful fisherman, qualities that rank high in an Eskimo community. His marriage yielded him no children, but his wife, whose first husband had died a few years earlier, brought a fourteen-year-old son in her train.

Even the children had many little duties to perform in this our last camp on the sea-ice, while the fathers hunted seals and caribou, and the mothers sorted out the household things they intended to leave on the coast, or filled the pokes of blubber they were storing away for the autumn months. Each family had two pokes that weighed, when full, between three hundred and four hundred pounds, and our most pressing task for the moment was to dispose of them. Most people would have found it very unpleasant to cram a bag with oily seal blubber; but the women, accustomed to the task from childhood, merely put on their oldest clothes, rolled up the coat-sleeves, and buried their arms in the greasy mass without the slightest hesitation.

Not all the oil that exuded from the blubber found its way into the pokes. The women rubbed some of it over their faces to mitigate the effect of sunburn, and recommended the same treatment for my own weather-beaten countenance. Sunburn hardly seemed credible when the temperature of the atmosphere remained constantly below the freezing-point; but the sun now shone throughout the twenty-four hours of

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were seeking out their mates, and a faint tinge of green had crept into the brown tips of the low dwarf willows that protruded above the snow. In the hills lay countless lakes teeming with trout and salmon, and herds of caribou grazed on the slopes and plains. Soon large pools would form around the margins of the lakes, and the unlocked waters race in foaming torrents to the sea. Everything beckoned us landward, to a joyous life in the open air. There would still be a few more snow-storms, succeeded by fogs and rain; later, dark clouds of mosquitoes would assail us night and day without rest. But there would be many days, too, of mild, clear weather when we could sleep beneath the open sky; and food was abundant everywhere, so that we could roam where we pleased, as free and unfettered as the caribou we hunted.

On May 9 our sleds climbed up the shore near the mouth of a large creek named Okowyarvik. The new life had begun.

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low; but the hills are brown and barren, or sparsely clothed with a few creeping plants such as dryads, saxifrages, and oxytropi.

On this peninsula I planned to live six months, isolated with my little band of Eskimos. The life on the ice was ended; fishing and caribou-hunting were to be our sole pursuits. As Ikpuck's adopted son I could observe all the details of Eskimo summer life, following its variations from day to day as no traveller had done before me. It was for this purpose, indeed, that I had cut myself adrift from the rest of the expedition until the winter, when the strait would freeze over again and allow me to return to Bernard Harbour. In the back of my mind lay also another plan. Sixty miles to the northward was Prince Albert Sound, the home of an Eskimo tribe that I had not yet visited. Each summer a few of the Sound people met and traded with Eskimos from Dolphin and Union Strait somewhere in the interior of Wollaston Land, and Ikpuck, who was born in this region, promised to guide our party to their usual places of rendezvous. He arranged that we should travel first to the Lake of Dancing within the Colville Hills; later, if necessary, to the Big Lake across the divide or to Prince Albert Sound itself.

We had landed near Okowyarvik Creek, which flows into a long, narrow harbour sheltered from every gale by an island that extends across its mouth. It was the

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usual starting-point for Eskimos travelling to the Great Sound, since the hills immediately north were lower than at any other place either to east or west. Okowyarvik means "the Home of the Dryad," not the wood-nymph of that name, who could never find a home in this desolate land, but the *Dryas integrifolia*, a tiny flowering plant distantly related to our rose. The Eskimos generally paid little attention to the plants around them because they added nothing to their food supply; but the dryad, heather, and willow furnished their fuel during the summer months, and in the hills heather and willow were not procurable.

We lingered a week at "Dryad Harbour," for the season was still early and the snow that covered the land would last another month. While the men were hunting caribou the women overhauled their bags of clothing, putting aside all the heavier garments not needed again till winter. To these they added the furniture of the snow-huts, the long wooden tables, the drying frames, and a few of the stone lamps. Each family made a separate pile of its possessions, and on top of each pile the men deposited their sealing weapons, useless for the life on land. I myself cached nearly all my provisions—pemmican, rice, oatmeal, hard bread, and tea sufficient to last me about a month; only a little tea and cornmeal I retained on my sled, to ease the transition from the "balanced" diet of

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fine trout out of the lake, and but a short time afterward the children were scurrying from tent to tent with steaming messes of boiled fish.

I lay back among the caribou skins after supper, using my sleeping-bag for a cushion, and listened to Ikpuck's account of our day's adventures. A careless movement of my foot upset a tea-cup, emptying its contents onto one of our best robes. Icehouse sprang up indignantly. "You miserable wretch!" she exclaimed. "Do you think you are lying on sealskins? See what you have done. You have ruined our best robe." I cast an apologetic look at Ikpuck, who sat in the opposite corner. A faint smile flickered over his face, and his left eye gave a perceptible wink. Poor Ikpuck. Icehouse intercepted the wink, and, transferring her wrath, heatedly upbraided him for his indifference, while the old man silently hung his head. But her anger gave way to laughter as she helped me to scoop up the tea, and the incident became only a standing joke within our family circle.

We remained at the lake for several days, dividing our time between hunting and fishing. I was not familiar with their method of fishing and had better luck with the caribou. The Eskimos could stalk more skilfully, but my Ross rifle with its powerful copper-nosed bullets was more effective than Ikpuck's .44 Winchester, The Runner's .22, and the bows and arrows that made up the rest of our armament. So

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224 411 123 they were always well pleased when I joined the hunting excursions.

221 224 226 237 123 Yet my "parents" were not satisfied. They wished me to become expert in fishing also. The caribou migration was almost ended; soon the herds would scatter far and wide, and fish alone be our mainstay until midsummer. Icehouse made a bag of sealskin to hold all the trout and salmon I would surely catch, and Ikpuck overhauled my fishing-line, fitting it with a barbless hook and bone sinker like his own. Then he wound it over a short stick notched at both ends, gathered up his own equipment, and invited me to my first lesson.

226 123 [325] I have a vivid recollection of that lesson. We went out on the lake before noon, and with a chisel of native copper lashed to the end of a stout pole Ikpuck proceeded to dig a hole through the six-foot covering of ice. In twenty minutes he reached the water, making a hole fifteen inches in diameter at the top, four inches at the bottom. He then lowered his line until it touched bottom, rewound it about a foot, and began a rhythmical jigging.

"Take my chisel and make another hole for yourself," he said. Nothing seemed easier. I moved about twenty paces away and dug steadily for half an hour, but always there was more ice at the bottom of the hole. Ikpuck, who already had two trout on the ice beside him, looked over and laughed. "Come and

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fish here," he called. "I will finish the hole for you." 226
We changed places, and I dropped my line into the 123
water. Presently I hooked a fish, which I hauled up eagerly, hand over hand, as I had often done in boyhood; but it slipped off during a momentary pause in the strain, for the hook was barbless. Afterward Ikpuck taught me his own method of pulling in the line, and the reason for the barbless hook. He used, not his hands, but his wrists, rotating them alternately against the cord so that the strain remained constant. A barb was not only unnecessary, but a disadvantage, because, in jigging, a fish is caught in the lip where the flesh is tender, and a barbed hook often tears loose where a barbless hook holds firm.

For an hour we had no more bites, so we crossed some ridges and dug new holes in another lake, two miles away. Here the light breeze of the morning suddenly increased to a violent gale. Ikpuck, considering it part of the day's routine, sat on a snow-block with his back to the driving snow and jigged his line as patiently as in calm summer weather. I perforce did likewise, though my feet seemed to grow colder and more solid than the ice beneath. We returned to camp at last with five trout and two salmon, one from my hook, all the rest from Ikpuck's. But the lesson he gave me bore fruit, for within a month I could dig my own holes and catch as many fish as my companions. [132]

Two short moves from this lake brought us to the 133
221

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Lake of Dancing, where we hoped to meet the Tormiat natives from the Great Sound. It was famous not on account of its size—it was even smaller than the lake we had just left—nor for its abundance of fish; but because it lay near the watershed on the highway to the Great Sound, and was encircled by many larger lakes that provided good fishing until midsummer. We set up our tents on one of several old camp-sites around its margin, and settled down to await the Tormiat.

During the next six days we scoured all the hills around us, discovering a few caribou, but no natives save two families that had separated from us on the ice a month before. On every excursion we were joined by Leaf, The Runner's wife, who had borrowed her husband's .22 rifle to shoot at ptarmigan. I lent her my own rifle on one occasion when we were stalking a herd of caribou, and she killed a magnificent bull, the finest we saw on Victoria Island. The other women devoted all their time to fishing, and to drying and caching the meat and fish that began to accumulate in camp.

Spring was now advancing rapidly; so much snow had melted from the hill-sides that sledding would soon be impossible. At times the temperature rose above 40° F., though it dropped below the freezing-point again at evening. Ptarmigan were mating in every hollow, and the children launched many an arrow at them with little success.

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them with little success. On May 23 we saw the first Lapland longspur, and three days later flesh-flies, the forerunners of clouds of mosquitoes. In a pool of water at the base of a hill lay a tiny mouse, drowned by a sudden thaw before it could escape from its burrow.

The increasing brownness of the hills made me uneasy. We could discover no trace of the northern natives, though some of them had visited the Lake of Dancing the previous summer. Icehouse, who was a medicine-woman, announced that she would enquire at midnight from her guardian spirits, and our whole party gathered inside the tent to hear the oracle. The spirit of a wolf entered into her, and even thrust its upper canines out of the corners of her mouth; but it spoke in a mystic language that no one could interpret. We thronged anxiously around it, beseeching it to explain; and at last we heard this message:

> "To Big Lake come your Great Sound kinsmen.
> Travel thither with your sleds.
> Before the snow flies turn ye back again."

The oracle was obeyed. By noon our little caravan was slowly threading its way among the hills, heading north-east toward Big Lake. Ikpuck guided the course. The shoeing of frozen mud that once covered the runners of his sled had fallen away at the Lake of Dancing, and the bare wood grated harshly over the snow. My own sled, following behind, glided along

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easily on runners of steel. The Chatterbox and his family, who came next in the line, had abandoned their sled and hitched their dogs to a polar-bear skin that carried all their possessions. Last of all came Parted-Hair's sled, in the same condition as Ikpuck's. The Listener and his wife, too old to make unnecessary journeys, remained at the lake to watch over the meat and fish we had spread out on boulders to dry in the sun.

Twelve miles from the Lake of Dancing we sighted caribou and shot a large bull. We camped beside its carcass, and the women, who had failed to bring stone lamps and blubber, trusting to cook over open fires, searched the ridge-tops for fuel. But the season was less advanced on this side of the divide and vegetation scarcer, so that they found no fuel of any kind, not even the wretched dryad. I boiled a little venison for myself on the primus lamp, but the rest dined quite cheerfully on raw meat. Their tents, too, they had left behind, but they propped up two caribou robes for shelter from the breeze and spread out their sleeping-bags under the open sky. I fell asleep to the murmur of the dance-song they were practising for the meeting with the Tormiat from the Great Sound.

Big Lake, which we reached late the next evening, appeared to be circular in outline and about ten miles in diameter. We camped near its southern end, where we found old camp-sites, although the lake itself was silent and deserted.

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CHAPTER VIII

BREAD FROM THE WATERS

OUR meeting with the Tormiat from the Great Sound fulfilled one of the purposes for which I had shaken off civilization and adopted the Eskimo life. It is true that we encountered but two families, and those for four days only; but in customs and language they so closely resembled the natives with whom I was travelling that it was unnecessary to visit the remainder of the tribe. My companions had welcomed the journey as a pleasant break in the routine of their daily life. Now that it was ended they resumed their regular duty at this season, the drying and storing away of fish for the barren months of early winter.

The long Arctic spring was drawing to its close.

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223 291 place. Despite Icehouse's loud remonstrances, despite the laughter of the rest of us, he raced for the pool again, the long tail alternately flapping between his naked legs and streaming in the air behind him. And again the ice gave way beneath him! Chilled to the bone, and thoroughly crestfallen, he hastened to the shore, and in a surly voice bade Icehouse unfasten the packs and set up the tent.

• 221 361 226 Our jigging in this corner of Lake Ever-Frozen was very productive for a week, and the new camp with its lines of drying fish among the dogs and tents soon became a replica of the one we had just abandoned. To stand on the ice hour after hour and mechanically vibrate a long line in the clear water below was a pleasantly monotonous occupation when the air was mild and the sunlight sparkled in the crystalline snow. [132] Even when fogs rolled down on us, and only the dark water-holes at our feet relieved the whiteness all around, there was a comfortable peace in the atmosphere and in the mellowed voices that penetrated from 224 somewhere unseen. The life was in fact too tranquil, too monotonous, for The Runner and his wife. They craved more activity, and spoke of hunting for caribou [123] to the northward; and when they broached their project to me I rashly promised to accompany them.

We set out on a clear, bright morning and travelled from one ridge to another, pausing on each crest to search the surrounding country. No caribou were

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224 [251] [482] [593] of which we shot. The heads and limbs we buried in the snow to collect the following day; The Runner took one of the carcasses on his back, I took the other, and Leaf carried the two hares. After we had proceeded thus for about a mile The Runner changed burdens with his wife, who accepted without a murmur. [123] I promptly changed with him, and a few minutes after with Leaf again, giving her back the hares. But packing was still a new experience to me, and though I reached the camp without mishap, I deeply rued my gallantry the next morning when a thousand pains shot through my neck every time I turned my head.

• 221 226 361 A fortnight's fishing exhausted the bay and compelled us to make another move. It mattered little which way we turned, for every ridge bounded a lake that contained both trout and salmon. But since the total catch would be greater if we scattered our forces and settled on different lakes the families separated. The Listener went south, The Chatterbox north, Parted-Hair north-east, and Ikpuck and The Runner east.

221 361 This dispersal of the individual families completed one half of the strange cycle through which the Eskimos passed year after year. They reacted to the seasons, to their constantly changing environment, more than most of the inhabitants of our globe. The problem of obtaining life's basic needs, food, clothing, and shelter, left little time for other thoughts; and the seals and caribou that furnished them with food, fur-

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nished also the materials for clothing and tents. In winter, when the land lay bare and silent beneath the snow, when the caribou had migrated south, when the twilight hours were brief and the nights long, the natives had banded together into tribes, and tribe combined with tribe to wrest a precarious livelihood from the frozen sea by united effort. Food had been common to all, and their snow-houses had adjoined each other so closely that the families seemed absorbed in the group. With the returning sun and lengthening days nature had recalled its life; the seals had appeared on top of the ice, the caribou had come northward again, and the tribes of Eskimos had broken up into little bands. For a time they had lingered on the ice to hunt more seals; then, turning landward, they had pursued the caribou over the snow-covered hills and plains. Now the snow was vanishing, the caribou had scattered, and fish alone provided a sure livelihood until midsummer. So my party, like many another throughout the country, was dividing into its constituent households, each of which now toiled for itself alone. The tribe no longer existed; society had dissolved into its first element, the family.

The dissolution was not completed in one day. Although the other families scattered, those of Ikpuck and The Runner remained united for a short time longer, wandering eastward together to a district as yet unvisited, and therefore more likely to harbour

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caribou. After two days' marching we set up the tents on the shore of a small lake and discussed our hunting program. Ikpuck and The Runner agreed to scour the land to the northward, where the hills sloped away toward Big Lake. I myself chose the higher land to the south-east, whence I could gain a wider view of the country and perhaps discover some rock-exposure that would indicate the geological formation. Leaf wanted to go with her husband, and Jennie insisted on sharing their fun. As for Icehouse, she was content to fish near camp with little Knife-Blade.

We went our several ways in the morning, but an hour after we separated a dense fog settled over the land. I turned back immediately, and by good luck gained the camp again. Some of the dogs were prowling among the tents, and Icehouse and Knife-Blade were fishing just below, but of Ikpuck and his party there was no sign. I sent Knife-Blade home to guard the camp and fished in the lake all day with Icehouse. From time to time the fog lifted for a few minutes, but closed in again as densely as before. Toward midnight, when the light faded a little, we returned to the tents, ate some dried fish, and tumbled into our sleeping-bags.

Icehouse became alarmed when the fog continued unchanged next day. She knew that the hunters were in no danger of starvation, for they all carried fishing-lines. Even if they were unable to cook their fish

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shades of white men; I named them for her, Jack, Bob, Mary, Jane, and soothed them with fair words until they departed. Others, that were the shades of Eskimos, she herself propitiated in like manner, and banished with her knife a few that seemed loth to depart. At last her efforts succeeded; the jacket told her that the atmosphere would clear on the morrow, and, greatly relieved, she retired to her sleeping-bag to await the result.

An east wind sprang up in the morning and the fog lifted. "Look," she cried, issuing from the tent. "Yesterday we assailed the fog and it has vanished." Ikpuck and his party appeared about noon, weary, but otherwise none the worse for their experience. Thinking it useless to search for the camp until the weather cleared they had wandered about, fishing in different lakes, and huddling together at night on patches of bare ground. Ikpuck had shot a bull caribou that strayed near them, and they had satisfied their hunger with the marrow and back fat, seasoning them with raw fish.

The Runner now decided to move to a lake farther north where they had caught many fish during their late excursion; but Ikpuck wanted to continue eastward in search of more caribou. The former departed first. We watched his family disappear over the ridge, then packed up our own equipment and marched away. So our last link with the tribe was severed, and the dispersal of the band complete.

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limited to about a quarter of a mile, unless the wind carried them farther. The animals suffered almost as much as ourselves. Our dogs tried to burrow in the ground to protect their feet and noses, and a young bull caribou, blinded by the cloud of mosquitoes that swarmed around its head, trotted within fifty yards of me without noticing my presence.

The warm weather, too, enlarged the lanes of water round the margins of the lakes and increased the difficulty of crossing onto the ice. Ikpuck therefore decided to return to Lake Ever-Frozen, which, from its size, remained ice-bound all or most of the summer. We first packed the dried fish one stage ahead, then returned for the camping-gear, and, thus travelling, reached in four days the eastern end of the lake not far from our old camping-place. The other families in the band had gathered there already, reunited by the same problem of food supply that a few weeks earlier had caused their dispersal.

My two months of practical training should have rendered me a past master in the fishing technique of my companions, but at this lake they taught me a new device. The largest trout always lay deepest, but none of our lines would reach the bottom of the lake. Moreover a long line, if drawn up quickly hand over hand—or wrist over wrist, in true Eskimo fashion—invariably tangles. Ikpuck's method was to lower his line to the last inch, and, when a fish struck, to run back-

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into a paste with cold water it was more digestible than the half-raw fish on the drying-poles, and more palatable than saltless fish boiled over a smoky flame in a cupful of water. So for a week I ate nothing but pemmican. Gradually the dysentery lessened, my strength began to return, and, though the intolerable thirst continued, there was hope of a permanent recovery if in some way we could improve our diet.

I talked the matter over with Ikpuck. He could understand my dislike of raw fish, but not its effect on my health, unless, indeed, my guardian spirit had forbidden its consumption. Yet he would gladly do anything to aid my recovery. It was the end of July; the fur of the caribou was in its prime, and the fishing season nearing its close. He had intended to pass the remainder of the summer wandering in the hills to the north-east, where caribou were numerous but fuel scarce; however, seeing that I might eat nothing but cooked food, we could move southward toward the coast if I wished, and travel over plains amply clothed with heather and willow. We agreed to adopt this second plan and communicated the decision to our companions.

A snow-storm, not an unusual occurrence even in the height of summer, delayed our departure a few days; but as soon as the snow melted again we packed all our fish to the Lake of Dancing and cached it with our other possessions. Then we turned southward, away

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nourished Icehouse wriggled in her bag for several minutes before she tumbled, like an enormous chrysalis, head foremost onto the floor.

We occupied a real snow-hut at the Lake of Dancing, one that had been erected by our companions a week or more before. Here we dismantled our caches of dried meat and dried fish, and recovered my sled, the big spring tent, and all the other things we had deposited at this place in the early days of summer. Foxes, worming their way through sundry chinks and crevices in the stones, had destroyed all the sinew fishing-lines; fortunately we had plenty of cod-line that could take its place. More serious was the destruction of the white-bellied caribou hides from which Icehouse had intended to make some finely ornamented costumes for the winter dances; but I assuaged her grief by promising to purchase other hides for her when the tribes reassembled at the sealing-grounds. We sighted one of the marauding foxes near our camp, and lured it within range by squeaking like a young bird; but Ikpuck's bullet struck only the ground between its legs, and, though deluged with snow, it escaped without injury.

After fishing in various lakes for a few days with little success we overtook our companions at the source of a creek that flows into Dryad Harbour. They had abandoned all further hunting and fishing on the land under the pressure of colder weather and were return-

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ing to the coast, where they had stores of blubber to feed their lamps and give light and warmth to their houses. At this moment they were preparing their sleds for the journey, restoring the shoeing of frozen mud that had dropped off during the spring. They dug out the turf from a meadow with mattocks of curving antler, thawed and crushed it inside the houses to weed out the roots, kneaded it into "cricket-balls" with water, and plastered it along the bottoms of the upturned runners. There, while it was still soft, they moulded it into shape with their hands and scraped it smooth with long-handled knives. The mud froze to the hardness of stone, giving an admirable shoeing that would last throughout the winter; but its gritty surface required a thin coat of ice to make it friction-less against the snow, and the coat had to be renewed before each day's journey. When we were travelling down to the coast over the comparatively thin ice of a lake or river, my companions sometimes poured a few buckets of water over the surface and ran their sleds through the pool before it froze; but the usual, and, in the heart of winter, the invariable method, was to fill the mouth with water and squirt a stream over each runner, rubbing it down quickly with a mitten of polar-bear fur. The Eskimos preferred polar-bear fur because a special oil in its hair prevents the adhesion of water; for the same reason our zoologist-commander, always quick to recognize the value of Arctic

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136 although a sudden storm that shatters the ice-field may still engulf a few animals before they have time to regain the shore.

136 The second wave of the migration passed even more
261 quickly than the first, and we found ourselves on a barren coast, cut off from every source of food except the stores that we had accumulated during the months just past. The seals had vanished with the open water, the true fishing-lakes lay back in the hills, and the salmon-trout that Ikpuck had speared in lakes nearer the coast had either ceased to spawn, or were invisible through the crust of snow. Occasionally we sighted two or three ptarmigan, never enough for a single meal; and at the mouth of the creek, three or four feet under the ice, the children speared a few sculpins, and
• 221 devoured them on the spot. But we had now reached the "doldrum" stage in our voyage, the resting period that intervenes between the intense activity of the caribou hunt and lake-fishing, and the winter sealing on the
221 ice. So with a feeling almost of permanency we estab-
361 lished our tiny settlement on the sea-shore, knowing that we should remain there longer than at any place
[342] since the preceding winter. We built our snow-huts with more than usual care, and the women improved them by fixing over the doorways windows of fresh-
221 water ice chipped from a neighbouring lagoon. From
294 morning till night they sat inside beneath their windows, sewing the new garments we needed for the

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winter months; as soon as they left this place for the sealing-grounds they might sew no more until the sun returned at the end of January. The men brought in the pokes of blubber cached on Read Island six months before, and the carcasses of the caribou shot during the migration just ended; in idle moments they repaired their sealing weapons or helped their wives to scrape the caribou hides.

The monotony of this new life affected the children much more than the adults. Throughout the summer they had shared our hunting and fishing, packed their burdens like the rest of us, and played an active rôle in every enterprise. They had gained a status in those months far beyond their years. Now they were reduced to children again, helpless dependents whose principal duty was to carry messages from one hut to another. Their bows and arrows, which had secured us many a duck and ptarmigan, were useless now that the birds had flown, and their fishing-lines lay idle in the family dunnage-bags, buried away until another spring. Little wonder, then, that they chafed under the confinement and tedium of a sedentary life, where no new playmates, no dances, no visitors from other tribes, breathed fresh life into our humdrum circle. A strange irritability seemed to taint their merry, carefree natures, and they wept over trifles that a month before would have passed unheeded.

Icehouse told Jennie one morning to brush the snow

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• 221
857 from some clothes that were packed in a bag on the
855 house-roof. Jennie refused, and petulantly turned her face to the wall. Her cousin entered the hut, and, seeing his playmate sulking in the corner, jeered at her behind her back; but a backhand that neatly struck his eye changed his jeering to a wail. The indignant Icehouse poked her daughter with a stick until she, too, added her voice to the lamentable chorus. Partnership in grief then brought comfort to both children, who left the hut together and built a common playhouse in the snow outside. Pain alone could not make
[147] them weep so readily. I had seen Jennie stumble against a stone and bruise her knee so severely that she limped for two or three days; but when some one asked her if she were hurt she straightened up resentfully and marched ahead without a tear.

114 Even I grew restless at our inactivity. Bernard Harbour seemed so near across the strait, and for seven months I had heard no word of English, and received no news of my comrades on the expedition. In clear weather we could see the Liston and Sutton Islands on the horizon, and the station lay only twelve miles beyond. The dark streaks in the sky that reflected open water had disappeared, and a short excursion seaward revealed no wide cracks or unsafe
123 places in the solid ice. Conditions might be different between the islands and the mainland, but Ikpuck thought that I could make the passage without danger.

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highest relief from the gloom and perils of the long Arctic night. Nature, when she condemned them to this twilight land, granted them the gift of song, and, however harsh their voices, their melodies revealed a deep sense of musical beauty. The example given below was transcribed unchanged from one of my phonograph records, and only the harmonies added to adapt it to the pianoforte.

The natives moved away at last to the Liston and Sutton Islands, whither Patsy and I followed them; but we returned to the station for Christmas, accompanied by Jennie and another child. Our party had grown from nine the previous winter to seventeen, half of whom were Eskimo assistants from the west. Mainly for their pleasure we set up a Christmas tree, filled their stockings with presents, and held sports in the snow outside the station house. Patsy contributed an unexpected item to the program of events. He carved the figure of a bird from a snow-block, and caused a stampede for shotguns and .22 rifles by abruptly announcing that a ptarmigan had settled at our door; three men levelled their guns at the dummy bird before the trick was discovered. With presents and games the fête succeeded gloriously, and the cook rounded it off with a Christmas dinner that included real mince pies and an enormous plum pudding. Through it all little Jennie and her playmate wandered about in a daze, neither comprehending our strange actions, nor the

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787 spirits took possession of his body. We listened to their stories courteously but incredulously, for we had heard similar tales of other medicine-men; and when he quietly informed us one morning that something was wrong with our schooner, that the thing which made it go had broken during the night, we paid no attention. What could he know about the vessel or its engine, since he had never seen a schooner before, nor indeed any boat that moved under sails or power? Yet that same afternoon we discovered a serious crack in the rafter supporting the roof of our kitchen, and the rafter was the schooner's jib-boom! Was it merely coincidence, I wonder, or did the old man really possess some uncanny power of which we, for all our vaunted knowledge, were ignorant?

000 As the days grew longer and the air warmer, the harbour became more deserted. Cox and O'Neill had already gone eastward to continue their survey of the coast, Anderson and Chipman had gone west to examine the Crocker River, and Johansen was explor-
• 221 ing the south coast of Victoria Island. The Musk-ox people returned to their home, and the local natives began to separate into small bands and move toward different hunting-grounds.

123 Suddenly a case of ammunition disappeared, and the
756 handful of natives who lingered beside us disclaimed
627 all knowledge of the theft. Our old friend Knife could have enlightened us, for he always kept abreast

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diminished in number, and for two days none at all appeared. The natives, who had nothing to do except deposit their fish in caches as it dried, were lounging around their tents, enjoying the halcyon days of early summer—that week or fortnight, all too brief, when life seemed a glorious holiday. Food was abundant in their camp, and the air so warm that they could sleep in the open air, hardly molested as yet by the clouds of mosquitoes that would shortly darken the sky and attack every living creature, man and beast alike.

Humour is never lacking in an Eskimo community, especially during days of idleness. As the women were gossiping inside a tent, one of the men called out that a shoal had entered the weir. The gathering dispersed in an instant; for although theoretically food was shared in common, the family that gathered the largest store always fared better than the rest, and enjoyed greater prestige. The women, therefore, rushed for their spears and hurried down to the stream. But as they collected on the brink and eagerly scanned the empty water, loud guffaws from the men behind advised them of the hoax, and crestfallen, even amid their laughter, they slowly retreated to their tents again.

About six o'clock the next morning, while the camp still slept, I rose to light our breakfast fire. A woman appeared at the door of her tent, and after gazing tranquilly around, picked up her fish-spear and

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Ikpuck received tools of various kinds, a high-powered binocular to aid his hunting, two seines that would supplement his fish-spear and fishing-rod, a light cloth tent to replace the heavy one of skin that he packed all summer on his back, and last, but not least, a Peterborough canoe. Of all these gifts the canoe perhaps pleased him most. We used it immediately to freight most of his dried fish over to a small island that was inaccessible to foxes and other animals until the sea froze over again.

It was melancholy to reflect, during these last days, how little I had done, how little I could do, to ensure the welfare of my family during the years to follow. Nature had not been kind to their land. The winters were long and severe, the summers too short and too late in their arrival to permit the growth of fruits or cereals. Isolated from the great world outside, my parents, like all their tribesmen, could maintain themselves only on what the country itself provided—meat and fish in the spring and summer, fish and meat again in the fall and winter. Permanent homes they had none; life was a perpetual wandering in search of food, a wandering that ended only with death. The winter's twilight had shown me their blurred forms dragging the over burdened sleds from one sealing-ground to another to escape the threat of famine; and the midnight sun had shone on husband, wife, and little daughter, weighted down with heavy packs, stumbling over

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• 221 the trackless land to a new fishing-lake in the hope of breaking their fast before another sleep. Food, clothing, and shelter, those primal necessities that generally come so easily to dwellers in more temperate climes, demanded from them ceaseless effort, until the desperate battle to preserve life seemed almost to nullify any purpose for life. Only an invincibly optimistic race, patient, hardy, and good-tempered, could have wrestled with this environment and survived. What could a white man contribute to its struggle?—a white man who appeared for a season only, then vanished as mysteriously as he came.

114 The day for our departure arrived at last; the date was July 13, 1916. Heavy ice still lingered outside the harbour, but a channel of open water extended to the westward and widened near the horizon. From morning till nearly evening we laboured at our preparations, striking the last of the tents, dismantling the last of the caches. Everything was finished at 6 o'clock, and, after a hasty supper, I went ashore in the dinghy while my companions pulled up the anchor.

123 My family had pitched its tent at the entrance to the harbour, where a breeze from the sea blowing across the low promontory kept away the mosquitoes. They were seated outside the doorway, intently watching our movements, but Ikpuck and Jennie came down to the beach to pull up my boat. I sat down beside them, and we watched in silence, Jennie alone in her childish